

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY



0 1620 1592 6254

For Reference

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

# For Reference

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

Ex LIBRIS  
UNIVERSITATIS  
ALBERTAENSIS







Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2019 with funding from  
University of Alberta Libraries

<https://archive.org/details/Royick1965>







LEXICAL BORROWINGS IN ALBERTA UKRAINIAN

by

Alexander Royick

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SLAVONIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

September, 1965





UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Lexical Borrowings in Alberta Ukrainian" submitted by Alexander Royick in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank the following people whose contributions were invaluable in the preparation of this study: Dr. Y. Slavutych for suggesting the topic and for his supervision and guidance; Mr. J. L. Laychuk for the many valuable suggestions he offered and for polishing the style of the manuscript, and also Mrs. Irene Krouse for her help in proofreading; and Messrs. G. N. O'Grady, G. H. Schaarschmidt, and Dr. O. Starchuk for their assistance and advice in the preparation of this thesis.





## An Abstract of

### LEXICAL BORROWINGS IN ALBERTA UKRAINIAN

The problems connected with the influence of one language on another have played an important role in linguistic science, but received little attention from the scholars in Canada.

Whenever two or more languages are in contact, they influence each other in phonology, morphology, syntax and in vocabulary which leads to phonic, grammatical, and lexical interferences. These interferences are especially evident in the lexical domain where the words are more loosely structured than in the other two fields, and, therefore, are borrowed most extensively.

The Ukrainian language in Alberta (as in all of Canada) belongs to the group of immigrant languages. It was brought by the Ukrainian immigrants at the end of the nineteenth and at the turn of the twentieth centuries. Many words have since been borrowed from the colonial language (English) which provides the main subject of focus in this thesis.

This pilot study is based on first-hand field research conducted by the author in Alberta during the summer of 1964. The material was collected on recording tapes from over 150 informants ranging in age from 4-90 years, in more than thirty places in the province from Manning in the north to Lethbridge in the southeast.

The data have been classified and analyzed in five chapters, starting with the Ukrainian settlements and their dialects, as they--the people--are the carriers of interlingual contagion, and to them one must look for an understanding of the borrowing process and the reasons motivating it.



Chapters Two and Three deal with the dialectal words and borrowings from other continental languages with which the Ukrainians were in contact in their Motherland.

Chapter Four discusses the English loan-words which have been borrowed by the pioneers and their descendants. The number of borrowings from the English is the largest and a distinction is made mainly between straight borrowings or importation, and hybrid derivatives (a combination of importation and native substitution) especially evident in verb formation and diminutive nouns.

The study ends with a description of how other languages (continental and colonial) left their imprint on Alberta Ukrainian, and the degree to which these languages influenced the speech of Alberta Ukrainians.





## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### CHAPTER I:

Ukrainian Settlements and Their Dialects in Alberta..... 1

### CHAPTER II:

Dialectal Words Brought From the Ukraine..... 8

### CHAPTER III:

Borrowings From Continental Languages..... 27

### CHAPTER IV:

English Loan-words..... 56

### CHAPTER V:

Conclusion..... 108

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 117



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>abb.</u> - abbreviated	<u>n.</u> - noun
<u>Am.</u> - American	<u>n. m.</u> - noun, masculine
<u>arch.</u> - archaic	<u>n. f.</u> - noun, feminine
<u>adv.</u> - adverb	<u>n. n.</u> - noun, neuter
<u>adj.</u> - adjective	<u>Npl.</u> - Nominative plural
<u>colloq.</u> - colloquial	<u>num.</u> - numeral
<u>collec.</u> - collective	<u>OCHS.</u> - Old Church Slavic
<u>conj.</u> - conjunction	<u>Pol.</u> - Polish
<u>Cz.</u> - Czech	<u>pl.</u> - plural
<u>dial.</u> - dialectal	<u>pron.</u> - pronoun
<u>dim.</u> - diminutive	<u>PN.</u> - Personal Name
<u>E.</u> - English	<u>prov.</u> - provincialism
<u>f.</u> - feminine	<u>p. p. p.</u> - past passive participle
<u>folk etym.</u> - folk etymology	<u>phr.</u> - phrase
<u>G.</u> - German	<u>Rom.</u> - Romanian
<u>GN.</u> - Geographic Name	<u>Rus.</u> - Russian
<u>Heb.</u> - Hebrew	<u>Slk.</u> - Slovak
<u>Hung.</u> - Hungarian	<u>1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl.</u> - first person plural
<u>Huts.</u> - Hutsulian	<u>3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl.</u> - third person plural
<u>interj.</u> - interjection	<u>U.</u> - Ukrainian
<u>L.</u> - Latin	<u>Yid.</u> - Yiddish
<u>loc.</u> - local	<u>W.U.</u> - West Ukrainian





# TRANSLITERATION

## UKRAINIAN ALPHABET

## ENGLISH EQUIVALENT

А а	A a
Б б	B b
В в	V v
Г г	H h
Ґ ґ	G g
Д д	D d
Е е	E e
Є є	Je je
Ж ж	Ž ž
З з	Z z
И и	Y y
І і	I i
Ї ї	Ji ji
Й й	J j
К к	K k
Л л	L l
М м	M m
Н н	N n
О о	O o
П п	P p
Р р	R r
С с	S s
Т т	T t
У у	U u
Ф ф	F f
Х х	X x
Ц ц	C c
Ч ч	Č č
Ш ш	Š š
Щ щ	Šč šč
Ю ю	Ju ju
Я я	Ja ja
Ь	

Apostrophe

Not transliterated



## CHAPTER I

### UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENTS AND THEIR DIALECTS IN ALBERTA

The first Ukrainian to arrive in Canada was Roman Bačyns'kyj<sup>V</sup> who landed in Quebec on May 30, 1865.<sup>1</sup> Two years later he was followed by Josyf Voz'nyj, and seventeen years later by three others: Jakiv Rij, Karol' Lesjuk, and Matvij Kiščac'kyj.<sup>VV</sup><sup>2</sup> The first immigrant on this continent, however, to officially proclaim his Ukrainian origin was Ahapius Honcharenko, a Ukrainian Orthodox priest, known for his revolutionary activities, who worked as a publisher of the Alaska Herald. He arrived in Boston on January 1, 1865.<sup>3</sup>

Vasyl' Eleniak and Ivan Pylypiv are considered to be the patriarchs of Ukrainian Canadians: they were also the first Ukrainians to come to Alberta (September, 1891) in an official capacity. These hardy peasants came from Nebyliv in the western Ukraine, where the Hutsulian dialect was spoken. They initially arrived in Montreal on September 7, 1891, and in Winnipeg a few days later.<sup>4</sup> Sofronij Mandryk, coming from the village of Sypynci, Kitsman District of the Ukraine, who settled near the present-day town of Smoky Lake, is officially considered the first Ukrainian Bukovinian immigrant to come to Canada (1896).<sup>4a</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>V. Burjanyk, "Do istoriji ukrajins'kyx učyteliv-pioneriv u Kanadi," Novyj litopys, vol. II, No. 3(4), (Winnipeg, July - September, 1962), p. 68.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Wasyl Luciwi, Theodore Luciwi, Ahapius Honcharenko and the Alaska Herald (Toronto: Slavia Library, 1963), p. 44.

<sup>4</sup>Paul Yuzyk, "The First Ukrainians in Manitoba," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, series III, No. 8 (Winnipeg, 1953), p. 321.

<sup>4a</sup>Orest Starčuk<sup>V</sup>, "Bukovyns'ka emigracija v Kanadi," Bukovyna: jiji mynule i sučasne (Paris: "Zelena Bukovyna," 1956), p. 916.





By and large, Ukrainian immigrants came to Canada in three waves. The first wave, encompassing the period 1892 to 1914, commenced with the arrival of thirty-three Ukrainians from the villages of Nebyliv and Perehins'ke. Subsequently, more than 30,000<sup>5</sup> came from the regions of Galicia, Bukovina, and the Carpatho-Ukraine, and settled in the parklands northeast and southwest of Edmonton and the coalmining districts west and northwest of Lethbridge.

The second period--1920-1939--witnessed the arrival of immigrants from Volhynia, the Kholm District, and Galicia who settled in northeastern and northwestern Alberta and joined Ukrainian pioneers who had previously arrived from Stuartburn, Manitoba, and Kemsack, Saskatchewan, on an earlier interprairie immigration (1914-1920). The 1941 federal census lists 71,868 Ukrainians in Alberta.

The third major wave of Ukrainian immigrants began to arrive in 1948 following the Second World War; it continued until about 1958. One-third of over 20,000 immigrants to Canada settled in Alberta, mostly in cities and towns. They live in enclaves and blocks which have been settled on the basis of their religion and the region in the Ukraine from which they came.

The enclave in Alberta having the greatest number of Ukrainians at the present time covers an area of over a thousand square miles.<sup>6</sup> From west to east it extends from Bruderheim to Derwent, a total distance of about one hundred miles; from southeast to northwest it runs from Holden to an area located beyond the north bank of the North Saskatchewan River,

---

<sup>5</sup>James S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, 1909), p. 134.

<sup>6</sup>T. C. Byrne, "The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1937), p. 26.



a distance of about seventy five miles. This block is primarily settled by the pioneers from Galicia and Bukovina arriving in the first and second waves, and their descendants.

Those from Bukovina settled in a compact mass in the region south of the North Saskatchewan River in and around the towns of Willingdon, Andrew, and Shandro, and north of the river in the Smoky Lake district (including the towns of Bellis, Vilna, and Spedden), the core of the Bukovinian settlement in Alberta. The remainder of this enclave is almost entirely Galician. One of its parts, to the east and northeast of Edmonton, is roughly "u"-shaped; it closes around the Bukovinian block from three sides: south, east, and north. It is located along the Edmonton-Cold Lake Canadian National Railway line from Spedden-Glendon to Bonnyville. In the south it takes in the towns of Lamont, Chipman, Mundare, and Vegreville and, further to the east and south, the newer villages and towns of Star, Two Hills, Myrnam, Derwent, Vermilion, and Lavoy. In the east it contains Ukrainian settlements extending north from Derwent. In the north it includes the area roughly north of the Bukovinian enclave and contains such towns as Thorhild, Newbrook, Egremont and Radway. The second part of this enclave is located to the southwest of Edmonton; it extends from Thorsby in the west to Holden in the east. The immigrants here came originally from the Ukrainian districts of Peremys<sup>V</sup>l', Mostys'ka, Jaroslav, and Javoriv, and, therefore, they use the Nadsianian dialect. The western and northern sections of the Galician block are located along two railroads: the C.N.R. Edmonton-Cold Lake branch, and the Northern Alberta Railway on the Edmonton-Lac La Biche-Waterways line.

The second and the oldest Ukrainian enclave in Alberta, roughly square-shaped, is bounded by Lethbridge in the southwest, Taber in the southeast, Turin in the northeast, and Picture Butte in the northwest.







From 1885 to the 1930's more than two hundred families from the Carpatho-Ukraine settled in this area; they formed the only dialectal enclave where the Transcarpathian Lemkish dialect was, and still is, spoken.

The third major enclave extends roughly from Bonnyville, northeast of Edmonton, west to Grosmont, northwest of Athabasca. It was settled during the period 1909 to 1939 by immigrants from Galicia, Bukovina, and Volhynia, and the Kholm District. Within this block one can distinguish two separate Volhynian settlements: the southern one with its core at Sandy Rapids, and the northern with its centre at Grassland. Settlers from the Kholm District live primarily at Beaverdam, while the Galician Lemkos make their home at Rossington, near Westlock.

The final major Ukrainian enclave, in the Peace River District, covers an area bounded by High Prairie and Grand Prairie in the south to Fort Vermilion in the north; Rycroft, Spirit River, and Volhynia are its centre. The largest of the four in area, it is settled by the pioneers (and their descendants) from Podolia, Bukovina, and the Sian River Basin. Those from Volhynia, in the northwestern Ukraine, settled in a compact mass in the township named after their province in the Old Country (the Ukraine), and in Highland Park.

The Ukrainian language in Alberta reveals a western Ukrainian dialectal colouring; this is a reflection of the nature of Ukrainian emigration in general. The individual dialects are strongly preserved among the peasant population on Alberta's farms, and among the ordinary people in her cities. The younger generation, educated in private or parochial schools, is bilingual and bi-dialectal. Literary and dialectal forms are interchanged depending on where they are used. The dialects are used in personal and informal conversations, differing from place to place and from generation to generation, but some influence



is exerted upon them by literary Ukrainian on the one hand, and by the colonial language (English) on the other.

The Pokutian and Northern Bukovinian (the Pruth Region) dialect is spoken by the majority of Ukrainians living in the first enclave east of Edmonton. Its main phonological characteristics are the transition of the phoneme /a/ to /e/, /y/, /i/ after soft consonants, in spite of the stress, e.g., č'ésto "often," š'y'pka "cap," čélid' "crowd"; the transition of the groups /s'a/ > /sy/ or /sa/, e.g., býtysy or býtysa "to fight." The second feature is the lack of differentiation between soft and hard adjectives, e.g., sýnyj as against standard sýnij "blue"; the third feature is the depalatalization of the suffixes -s'k, -c'k, the hardened /c/ in the suffix -ec, e.g., xlópec "boy," and the feminine instrumental ending in -ov, e.g., rukóv "by the hand," as opposed to the standard form rukóju.

The Nadsianian dialect of the Sian River Basin (the Dóly) is spoken by Ukrainians in the region south of Edmonton at Thorsby, Calmar, Hay Lakes; north of Edmonton at Radway; and at Hotchkiss and Fort Vermilion in the Peace River District. The main phonological features of this dialect are the lack of differentiation of the reflexes of old y /u/ and i, e.g., býti "to be" as against the standard búty, bítisi as against býtysja "to fight," the instrumental feminine ending -om, e.g., rukóm against the standard rukóju "by the hand," and some peculiar morphological features. In this dialect the vocabulary is strongly influenced by the Polish language, especially in accentuation, i.e., the stress is on the penultimate syllable.

The Transcarpathian Lemkish dialect spoken in the Lethbridge area is characterized by many provincialisms and archaic words, e.g., láda "a box for clothing," kováč "blacksmith," cížmy "high laced-boots," čeljadnyk





"husband." In phonology the archaic groups /ha/, /ka/, /xa/ are still strongly preserved instead of the standard /hy/, /ky/, /xy/, and the Ukrainian phoneme /u/ replaces the standard /i/ in pronunciation, e.g., vun pušóv (vin pišóv) "he went." The first syllable of nouns is always stressed as in Czech and Slovak. Finally, this dialect is characterized by the stress on the middle syllable in collective numerals, e.g., čyťvýro; here, unlike all other Ukrainian dialects, the stressed phoneme /y/ replaces the standard /e/, čétvero "four,"

The Volhynian dialect, which closely resembles standard Ukrainian, is found in northeast and northwest Alberta (enclaves three and four); various features characterize this dialect: /r/ is hardened in varú "I cook," zorá "star," búra "storm"; the archaic ending of the second person imperative -íte is used instead of the standard -it'; a prosthetic /h/ is inserted before initial vowels, e.g., hóci "eyes," húlycja "street," horáty "to plough," hopálka "feed-sack"; the genitive case forms of feminine possessive pronouns are preserved, e.g., méji, svéji, téji instead of the standard mojéji, svojéji, tvojéji.

Other dialects such as the Hutsulian, Boikish, and Podolian did not influence the speech of Alberta Ukrainians to any great extent and, therefore, are largely not discussed in the present study.

In general, Ukrainian-Canadian communities are bound together by the customs and dialect of their native villages. There are over one hundred Ukrainian place-names in Alberta.<sup>7</sup> Alberta Ukrainian may travel for miles in this province and meet only those of his own racial origin, or he may live here his whole life without feeling the need for English.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>This figure is based partly on Jaroslav Rudnyc'kyj, Kanadijs'ki miscevi nazvy ukrajins'koho poxodžennja (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1957), pp. 13-82 who lists approximately eighty Ukrainian place-names; the remaining twenty were uncovered by the investigator through field research.

<sup>8</sup>Byrne, op. cit., p. 31.



"A knowledge of Ukrainian is as indispensable within the boundaries of the block as French in Quebec or English in Ontario."<sup>9</sup> Recent field research proves that Byrne's statement does not completely hold true today, although a knowledge of the Ukrainian language within the boundaries of these blocks is still an asset.

---

<sup>9</sup>Byrne, op. cit., p. 41.





## CHAPTER II

### DIALECTAL WORDS BROUGHT FROM THE UKRAINE

This chapter deals with dialectal words brought from the Ukraine to Alberta, which are not considered a part of the standard Ukrainian literary vocabulary of today. It will also include neologisms, provincialisms and localisms, created in the Ukraine and in Alberta which are not influenced by other languages, or if so influenced, can no longer be accounted for in these terms.

The process of dialectal borrowing starts with the child's imitating the speech-habits of his parents (particularly the mother), of people who take care of him, and those who live in a speech-community and come in contact with him. Every such community has its own speech-groups, i.e., age-groups, occupational groups, social groups, or neighbourhood groups. Within each speech-community speech-habits pass from person to person.<sup>1</sup> If one particular speech-group or individual is more influential than others, a member of a non-influential group will imitate them in order to attain higher prestige in a community, and thus he himself will become a model for those of his own group who have not had his opportunities.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, every speaker is a mediator among different groups.<sup>3</sup>

Some model speakers and groups are more imitated than others,

---

<sup>1</sup> Leonard Bloomfield, Language (New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), p. 476.

<sup>2</sup> Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 477.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



are often people possessing power and prestige, or belong to a dominant class in a community.

Localisms, originating in a single speech-community, or districtisms and provincialisms within their wider boundaries might spread and be adopted by whole regions and their people, or conversely, they might be kept isolated within their own boundaries for various reasons, and never gain any prestige nor be adopted in the standard language. However, some cities, or centres of culture, commerce, politics, and science gain prestige and exert their dialectal speech-forms and peculiarities on a wider national scale. These dialects may be adopted as the standard, approved by linguists, and form the dominant or sub-dominant part of a standard literary language. If not, they will remain as dialects and their words as dialectisms not considered part of the official language of a country, nation, or people.

The evolution of Ukrainian vocabulary followed a different course from that of the major West European nations--England, France, and Germany. It is primarily based on the vernacular of the peasantry, which later became the written language, especially in belles-lettres.<sup>4</sup> The peasant origin of the vocabulary, at least to a degree, is attested by a proportionally extensive development of the emotional elements--words having affectionate suffixes, and formulae for folklore and folksongs, e.g., affectionate diminutives for girls such as holúbka "dove", rybka "little fish."<sup>5</sup> When referring to vulgar and rude men, one encounters such pejorative words as xudóba "cattle", psjajúxa "hound's blood", svynjá "pig."

The standard Ukrainian literary language is largely based on the

---

<sup>4</sup> Volodymyr Kubijovyc, ed. Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 466.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 467.





dialects of Poltava and the southern part of the Kiev district, but it adopted a number of words and turns of speech from other dialects, especially of the west Ukraine through the medium of the local intelligentsia.<sup>6</sup> As a result of this, Ukrainian vocabulary possesses a predominance of Kievan and Poltavan elements with a heavy layer of the western Ukrainian words, pure Ukrainian neologisms embracing all branches of science and the arts, and especially native Ukrainian military terminology formed before and during the First World War in the Ukrainian armies. Consequently, the Ukrainian literary language is composed of words of many dialects and, therefore, it is relatively close to the vernacular.

Whenever possible, the Ukrainian language draws its stylistic expression and terminology from its own resources rather than from any other literary language.<sup>7</sup>

Church Slavisms and other borrowings are mainly used in poetic language, in scientific terminology, or for emphasis, where there are no suitable Ukrainian counterparts.

In this chapter dialectisms (provincialisms, localisms and neologisms) will be listed with the standard Ukrainian and the English translation. Their application in a sentence or phrase will be demonstrated, the loci of their origin, usage, and various characteristics will be explained when possible or when enough data have been collected to substantiate the argument.

anglička, n.f. (dial. or neol.) - anhlička "Englishwoman." Tam žyła odna anglicka, замуžna za ukrajincja: "There lived one English woman, married to a Ukrainian." The word anglicka was created analogically

---

<sup>6</sup> Kubijovyc, op. cit., p. 467.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 468.



to such Ukrainian feminine nouns as kozačka<sup>V</sup> "Cossack woman," katolyčka<sup>V</sup> "Catholic woman," prusacka<sup>V</sup> "Prussian woman" (derogatory) formed from the masculine nouns kozak "Cossack," katolyk "Catholic," prusak "Prussian." "Englishwoman" in Polish is angielka, in Ukrainian anhlička or anglička (W.U. dial.), and therefore one could say that the word anglička<sup>V</sup> is a neologism or dialectal form originating probably in Alberta or somewhere else in Canada. A second explanation for this creation can be found in the Ukrainian suffix -ička<sup>V</sup> from which some nouns are formed (especially diminutives). These are not very widely-used in Ukrainian, but a few can be found such as volička<sup>V</sup> "spun wool," rička<sup>V</sup> "small river," Marička<sup>V</sup> "little Mary," poričky<sup>V</sup> "gooseberries," potičky<sup>V</sup> "small streams," and could have served as a model for anglička<sup>V</sup> in Alberta.

Aponija, n.f. (folk simplification) - Japonija "Japan." Aponija počala vojevaty z Rosijeju: "Japan began a war against Russia." The sequence /ja/ composed of two phones [j + a] was perceived as one phone, easier to pronounce by the monolingual speaker.

balabút, n.m. (dial.) - opalka "feed-sack." For detailed information see under hopalka below. This form was recorded at High Prairie; the speaker originally came from the Ternopil' district.

bóršy<sup>V</sup>, adv. (dial.) - skoriše<sup>V</sup>, xutčij<sup>V</sup> "faster, sooner, hurry up." Traba bulo bóršy skazaty: "It was necessary to tell us more quickly." This word is used throughout the province.

brocáký, n.m. pl. (<Brody, a city in western Ukraine; dial.) - brodjany "People of Brody and vicinity." Na pivnič vid Lymontu žyjut sami brocaky: "Only Brodians live yonder north of Lamont." The neologism, brocaky, as used by the settlers of the Lamont district, has a





humorous and derogatory meaning; the correct form, brodjány, is not heard in this area.

búli, n. f. pl. (dial.) - kartoplja, baraboli "potatoes." Čy xocyš buli na vyčeru? "Do you want potatoes for supper?" The long four-syllable word baraboli was replaced in Boikish Subcarpathian dialects by the two-syllable buli.

burdej, n. m. (dial. Huts.) - zemljanka, kurna xata "mud-hut, earthen hut, a very poor house where smoke had little or no outlet." Moji tato j mama sydily v burdeju: "My father and mother lived in a mud-hut."

búta, n. f. (dial.) - nahortka, surdut, sjurtuk "frock-coat." Na stini vysyt buta: "A frock-coat hangs on the wall." This word is widely used in the Ternopil' district of the Ukraine.

byndjúh, n. m. (dial. localism) - slývka "a special kind of plums of a yellowish color." Seho roku u nas dobry zarodyly byndjuhy: "We had a very good crop of yellowish plums at our place this year." This word was brought by emigrants from the author's village, but is not listed in this meaning in any Ukrainian dialectal dictionary of today. Byndjúh actually means "heavy horse" in standard Ukrainian.

byzróha, n. f. (W. U. neol.) - svynja "pig, hog." Byzrohu možna bulo kupyty za dva j piv doljara: "One could have bought a pig for one dollar and a half." As svynja had a vulgar meaning to the peasants, they created the new word byzróha (bezróha) "animal without horns."

Cýl'o, PN. (dial.) - Vasyl' "Basil, William, Bill." U meny buv syn, Cyl'o nazyvavsi: "I had a son named Bill." This word is known only to the old generation of the Carpatho-Ukrainians in Lethbridge.

čyljadnyk, n. m. (dial.) - čeljadnyk, čolovik, syn, sluha, "apprentice, adult (man), son, husband, servant, journeyman." Mij čyljadnyk buv dobryj čolovik!





"My husband was a good man!" This dialectal word has acquired a special meaning among the Carpatho-Ukrainians and is peculiar to them alone.

čynčykuváty, v.

(loc.) - xodyty z Malankoju pid Novyj Rik "to go carolling  
čýncyk, n. m.  
from house to house with Melania (a symbolic girl) on Ukrainian New Year's Eve, January 13th." Oj, čynčyku, Vasyl'čyku, posiju ti v horotčyku...: "Hey, čynčyku (caroller), little Basil (-čyku), I'll plant you in the garden." This word was used only once a year, in the informant's village, by New Year carol-singers in order to create a rhyme. It was brought to Alberta by immigrants and is probably derived from žénčyk (dim.) "mover."

Dmytyr, PN. (dial.) - Dmytro. Mij susid, Dmytyr Xoljač, toj, ščo žyje kolo cerkvy: "My neighbor, Metro Xoliach, who lives near the church."

This name was changed for the sake of smoother pronunciation.

durnuvalysmo, v. 1st pers. pl. (dial., rarely used) - darmuvaty čas, hajnuvaty čas "to idle, to remain idle." Mij čuluvik v pulrumi robyt, bo to maleje mistečko, šcob my durnuvalysmo: "My husband works in the poolroom, because this is a small town in which to be idle." This word was largely used for emphasis and with a touch of humour.

Edmont, n. m. (dial. neol. Alberta-ism) - abbreviated form of Edmonton.

The latter form was too long and too difficult to pronounce for the early monolingual Ukrainian pioneers.

engelička, n. f. (dial. or folk etym. neologism) - anhlijka "Englishwoman."

Vona engelička, bula v Petrogradi: "She was an Englishwoman who had been in Petersburg." This word is an interesting hybrid (combination) of many stems. The informant was illiterate and an advocate of the religious sect called jevanhélyky "evangelists,"



from which the following words have been formed: jevanhél'yk (n. m.) "evangelist," jevanhél'ýčka (n. f.) "evangelist woman." As these two words are constantly used in their conversation, it is possible that the word engelička was coined analogically to jevanhél'ýčka. The alternative could be analogical formation to the word anglička "Englishwoman" with the formative suffix -ičk- which is already used widely.

familijánt, n. m. (dial. neol.) - krevnjak, rodyč "blood-relative, kin."

Oden mi j familijant vzjev oden homstat nydaleko kolo meny: "One of my relatives took a homestead not far from my place." This dialectal neologism is taken from the German and consists of the stem famili + jant (m.); also: famili + jant + k + a (f.).

filjándry, n. pl. (dial. neol.) - finy "Finns." Tam kolys buly filjandry:

"The Finns lived there a long time ago."

gargánka, n. f. (dial.) - horljanka "gullet, esophagus, neck." Šuruju

pyl'nykom garganku byka, tak sobi polehen'ko: "I am rubbing the ox's neck with a file, very slowly." The standard literary form, horljanka, had undergone phonic changes by replacing /h/ by /g/, /o/ by /a/ and /l°/ by /g/; thus, a virtually new word, hardly recognizable, was created.

góndzlyky, n. m. pl. (dial.) - kytyci, stjažky "bouquet, ribbon, riband,

tie." Vun mav na kapyljusi fajni gondzlyky: "He had nice ribbons on his straw hat."

Halyléja, n. f. (folk etym.) - Halycyna "Galicia." Kobym si vyrvav s toji

Halyleji: "I wish I had a chance to get out of Galicia." Here the speaker purposely distorts the word Halycyna, as he has long wished to leave Galicia for Canada to escape the persecution and







hard life in his native land, much like the ancient Jews in biblical times. This word is a borrowing from the biblical Galilee, (rendered in Ukrainian by Halyleja), the province of Palestine which had a fate similar to Galicia in the western Ukraine.

Hameryka, n. f. (folk etym.) - Ameryka "America." Vony byly v Hameryci pyryt tym: "They had been in America before." There had been a tendency in dialectal speech to insert a prosthetic /h/ in many Ukrainian words, e.g., Hanna "Ann," hostryj "sharp."

Házijsa, n. f. - Azijsa "Asia." Kuda, brat, jideš? V Hazijsu? A ty, brat? V Rosijsu : "Where are you going, brother? To Asia? And you, brother? To Russia." The standard word, Azijsa, acquired the prosthetic /h/ before the /a/.

hev! interj. (Hadayivsky dialect) - hej! xody sjudy "Come here! Hey! Hallow! Holla." Pod' hev, Ivany! "Hey, come here, John!" In this interjection expressing or inspiring encouragement /j/ was replaced by /v/.

hézdy, adv. (dial. Huts.) - os' tut "here, right here." Ta hezdy na Šandro: "Right here at Shandro." This word is particularly wide-spread in south-western Ukrainian dialects, especially in Bukovina and in the Carpathian Mountains.

hopálka, n. f. (dial.) - opalka "feed-sack." Ja vsypav troxy vivsa konjam do hopalky: "I put some oats into the feed-sack for the horses." The only difference between the standard form opalka and the dialectal hopalka is a prosthetic /h/.

hotél'nyk, n. m. (neol.) - hotel'nyk, vlasnyk hotelju "hotel owner." Ivan Kozij, hotelnyk, žyje na konary stritu: "John Kozy, the hotel owner, lives at the corner of the street." This neologism consists of the stem hotel and two suffixes: n + yk, i.e., hotel + n + yk > hotelnyk.



jarjáničko, n. n. (dial.) - bilyzna "laundry, underwear." Xto typer budy jarjaničko prjaty? (from a folk-song): "Who is going to do the laundry now?".

Jédmont, n. m. (dial. or folk etym. neol. Alberta-ism) - Edmonton "Edmonton." Vin pojixav do Jedmontu: "He went to Edmonton." Here a prosthetic glide, viz. /j/ was added to this abbreviated word by the first semi-illiterate or illiterate pioneers from Nebyliv.

kimák, n. m. (dial.) - patyk, buk "stick, wooden stick." Ja mav fajnyj kimak z derenu (derenovyj kimak): "I had a very nice blackthorn shrub stick."

kohútyky, n.m.pl.(dial.)-kul'čyky "ear-rings." Vony kohutyky maly v vuxax: "They had ear-rings in their ears." This word, however, is used in the region of Bukovina.

kompéri, n. pl. (dial., Lemkish, <G. Krumpfern (Swabian) ) - kartoplja, baraboli "potatoes." My maly fajnyj krap komperiv seho roku: "We had a nice crop of potatoes this year." This word is used only in the Lemko District by the people called Lemky. There are a dozen different names given to potatoes in the whole western Ukrainian territory, namely: zjemnjáky (<Pol. ziemniaki), marikánka (<American), grúli, bandúrky, búli (already mentioned under "b"), rípa, búl'ba, mandybúrka (<G. Magdeburg, the town in Germany which exported a special kind of potato to the western Ukraine).

kontétnyj, adj. (dial.) - zadovolenyj, radyj "satisfied, glad." Buv kontetnyj tym usim: "He was satisfied with all that he had." This word was borrowed from the Latin contentus via Polish kontent at the time when collegia were established in the Ukraine. Cf. ukontentuvátysja "to be satisfied."





livorúcija, n. f. (folk etym.) - revoljucija "revolution." Tam stala  
vybuxaty livorucija: "The revolution began there." This word has  
 undergone metathesis of the two non-contiguous liquids /r/ and /l/,  
 a phenomenon quite common in polysyllabic words of foreign origin.

malankuváty, v. (dial.) - xodyty z Malankoju "to go carolling from house  
 to house with Melania (a symbolic girl) on Ukrainian New Year's  
 Eve (Jan. 13)." Kolys my xodyly malankuvaty i nam bulo vyselo:  
 "In former times, we went carolling with Melania and we were happy."  
 This dialectal neologism was used in Bukovina and was brought to  
 Alberta by the first generation of pioneers; it is still used by  
 their descendants living in the Smoky Lake District.

manigránty, n. pl. (phonetic anticipation) - emigranty "emigrants."  
Vony manigranty ničo my znajut: "They, the emigrants, don't know  
 anything." The initial part of the stem /emi/ has become /mani/;  
 thus, emigranty has become mani + granty.

máryc', n. m. (< Pol. marzec) (< L. Martius) - berezen' "March." Vin u  
márot,  
marcju pryjixav do Kanady: "He arrived in Canada in the month of  
 March."

mócnýj, adj. (< Pol. mocny) - micnyj, syl'nyj "strong, robust, solid,  
 stout." My byly tohdy mocni, mocniši jak nyn'ka: "Then we were  
 strong, much stronger than we are today." A borrowing from the  
 Polish mocny + j for masculine gender of Ukrainian adjectives.

móločinka, n. f. (dial.) - kul'baba "dandelion." Tam byly til'ko šutyry  
móloč,  
moločkó, n. n.





i moločinka: "Only gravel and dandelions were over there."

mnje, n. n. (dial.) - im'ja "name." Daly mnje Bylis: "They named it

Bellis." In dialectal speech the word im'ja has changed a great deal: /i/ has disappeared completely, combination of the cluster /mɲ/ appeared, and the final /ja/ changed to /'e/ with preceding palatalized /ɲ/.

natalijan, n. m. (folk etym.) - italijec "Italian." Try roky buv na

Natalijana: "He was in Italy for three years." The semi-illiterate peasants and conscripted soldiers of the Austrian army that fought in Italy for three years, could still not differentiate between the Ukrainian word Natalija, Natalka "Natalie" and the name of the country Italija "Italy." They also misunderstood the phrase pity na Italiju--"to go and fight Italy"--with the same word Natalija. As a result, therefore, new words were formed: natalijan "Italian (man)," natalijanka "Italian woman," Natalija "Italy," and natalijanskyj, -ska, -ske, -ski (the adjectives).

njan'ko, n. m. (dial.) - bat'ko, tato "father, daddy." Njan'ko byly

Farkovyj Vasyl': "My father's name was Farkovy Vasyl'." This dialectism is to be found among the Transcarpathian Lemkos in the Carpatho-Ukraine.

njan'o, n. m. (dial.) - bat'ko, tato "father, daddy." Mij njan'o buv

duzy dobryj čuluvik: "My father was a very good man." This dialectism is found primarily among the Lemkos who lived beyond the Sian River.

norvédy, n. m. pl. (dial. neolog.) - norvežci "Norwegians." Norvedy

pryjixaly troxa pizniše na našu kontriju: "The Norwegians came to our district a little later." The existence of this dialectal neologism is attributed to the fact that Swedes are called švedy





in Ukrainian, and, therefore, the Norwegians were named according to this pattern: švedy - norvedy.

oferma, n. m. (dial.) - linohuz, lintjux, linyvyj colovik "lazy fellow, good-for-nothing, sluggard." A, toj oferma, šco struže barabulju pry vijsku!: "Ah, that good-for-nothing fellow peels potatoes in the army!" This word has a very derogatory meaning.

otýc', n. m. (dial.) - bat'ko, tato "father, daddy." Dity, moji dity, pomer vaš otýc': "O children, my children, your father died."

Semantic borrowing in meaning from the ecclesiastic-church culture where this word was formerly reserved only for priests, and for the Lord in prayers and church services. This meaning is especially found among the Transcarpathian Lemkos in the Lethbridge area.

pidmagúlyty, v. (dial.) - pidduryty, obmanuty, zamanuty "to cheat, to deceive, to dupe, to delude, to entrap." Vin pidmagulyv jiji: "He deceived her." This word is used in a derogative sense. From here magula "good-for-nothing fellow."

polisnýk, n. m. (neol.) - lisnýcyj, poberežnyk "forester." Tato polisnykom buly: "My father was a forester." The origin of this word could be traced back to such expressions as xodyty po lisi "to walk about the forest back and forth," and from this phrase the word polisnyk (po + lis + n + yk) was coined.

potómečky, adv. (dial.) - potim, opislja "after, then, later." Potomečky, jak tam stala vybuxaty livorucija....: "Later, when the revolution began there...." A diminutive word in general use in Ukraine with the formative suffix -ečk + y, i.e., pot + om (with /o/ instead of /i/) + ečk + y > potomečky.

Prúsy, GN. pl. (dial.) - Prusija, Nimeččyna "Prussia, Germany." Aly ja pojixav do Prus, bo toj biznes myni ny oplacuvavsi: "But I went to





Prussia [to work], because the business I had was not very profitable for me." This is a short form of the word Prusija "Prussia;" it also means Germany where, before the First World War, Ukrainian Galician peasants worked almost every summer.

prystávlynje, n. n. (dial. < R. predstavlenie or < Pol. przedstawienie) - vystava "stage performance, an act on the stage, a little village theatre." U nas včera bulo fajny prystavlynje: "There was a nice performance at our place yesterday." Folk-etymological simplification of consonantal clusters in the first syllable where /ts/ was reduced to /s/.

prytaal'óvanyj, adj. (dial. < G. eingeteilt) - pryznačenyj "assigned to." Ja zistav prytaal'ovanyj do mašingvyriv, jak kapral': "Like a corporal, I was assigned to the machine gun."

sádživka, n. f. (dial.) - stavok "pond, pool." Tam bula sadživka, kudy dity xodyly sovhatysi: "There was a pond where children went to skate."

snidányty, v. (neol.) - snidaty - "to breakfast." Koly ty snidanyla?

"When did you have breakfast?" This neologism was created (probably for the first time) by a fourteen year old girl while being interviewed by the investigator. She painstakingly used as a model the noun snidánok "breakfast" and appended the suffix -y- and ending -ty, i.e., snidan + y + ty instead of the correct form snidaty.

snócy, adv. (dial.) - z nóci, učora uvečeri "last night." Ja tybe snócy prosyv, a ty ny pomih: "Last night I asked you to help me, but you didn't." This dialectal feature is especially found among



the older generation of Bukovinian pioneers of Alberta.

spynáč<sup>V</sup>, prypynáč<sup>V</sup>, n.m. (neol.) - zatyskač<sup>V</sup>, paperotrymač<sup>V</sup> "paper clip, pin."

Viz'my toj spynač i prypny dokumenty dokupy: "Take a paper clip and fasten those documents together." This neologism derives from verb spynaty, prypynaty "to fasten, to clip."

svátky, n. n. pl. (dial. of svjata) - svjata "holidays, Christmas." To vže bylo po svatkax: "It was already after the Christmas holidays."

In the central Ukraine svjatky is also widely used.

sxusnuváty, v. (dial.) - vytratyty, zužyty<sup>V</sup> "to use, to spend, to make use of." My vsi naši kuruny sxusnuvaly: "We spent all of our money." The word sxusnuvaty was created from the noun xosén "profit, benefit, advantage, utility, gain, use" with the Ukrainian verbal suffix -uva- or -ova-, plus the ending -ty, and s- prefix forming the perfective aspect, i.e., s + xusn + uva + ty. The standard /o/ was changed to the dialectal /u/ and the /e/ after the /s/ was dropped. Kuruny (korony) "crowns," unit of Czech currency.

sykuváty, v. (dial., <G. sekkieren) - dokučaty<sup>V</sup>, peresliduvaty "to annoy, to tease, to persecute, to follow persistently." Učytel' zavždy joho sykuvav u kljasi, bo ne ljubyv joho: "The teacher always persecuted him in class because he did not like him." This slang word had been used by high school students in the western Ukraine and was brought over to Alberta by former students.

sylovýj, adj. m. (dial.) - sil's'kyj "village, country people." Vy jeste cyhan, a my sylovi ljude: "Oh, you are a gypsy, while we are just country people." This adjective was created by peasants from the stem seló "village" and the suffix -v- and the ending -yj, i.e., seló + vyj, and used instead of the already existing adjective sil's'kyj "village." The phoneme /e/ was changed to /y/ in an unstressed position.





šarkan'ký, n. f. pl. (dial.) - ostrohy "spur". Vin stysnuv svoho konje  
šarkan'kamy i pojixav v poly: "He spurred his horse and galloped  
 into the fields."

ševcjuváty, v. (neol.) - buty ševcem, zajmatysja ševstvom "to work as a  
 shoemaker, to repair shoes." Potim počav troxa ševcjuvaty: "Then  
 I started a shoemaker's business."

šmáryty, zašmáryty, v. (dial.) - zahubyty, zhubyty, kynuty, zakynuty,  
zatratyty "to lose, to go astray, to be lost, to throw." Možy de  
lyst zašmaryly na pošti: "Maybe the letter was lost somewhere at  
 the post-office." Vin šmaryv u meny kamenem: "He threw a rock at  
 me."

šmátje, n. pl. (dial.) - bilyzna, odiah "clothes, laundry, underwear."  
My ny maly dosyt' todi šmati: "We didn't have enough clothes at  
 that time." The word is derived from šmátka, šmáta "pieces of  
 clothing."

športuváty, v. (dial. neol. E. - sport) - vil'no proxodžuvatysja bez  
roboty; buty harno vdjahnenym "a dandy, to play smart, to be a  
 sport." A Majk sobi športuje: "Mike is acting like a dandy."  
 The original English word sport is combined with the Ukrainian suffix  
-uva- plus ending -ty. The replacement of /s/ by /š/ before /p/  
 is due to German influence.

taliján, n. m. (simpl.) italijec "Italian (n.)." Tam buv jakyjs  
talijan: "A certain Italian was there." This word is characterized  
 by the loss of the initial -i and the addition of the nominal  
 suffix -an, thus simplifying the long word italijec'.

támka, adv. (dial.) - tam "there, up there, over there, down there."  
Tamka ljudy maly korovy: "People had cows (down) there." The  
 standard word tam acquired a suffix -k + a.





tojvó, pron. (dial.) on toj (<sup>V</sup>colovik) "that one (man)." Tojvo, pokazemo vam katoraja jeho xata: "That one (man) over there, we'll show you where his house is."

tuvó, adv. (dial.) os' tut "right here, here." Tuvo vony majut svoji homštaty: "They have their homesteads right here."

uhljenuty, v. (dial.) - zahljanuty, zaprymityty "to notice, to catch the eye, to look after." Jak my uhljenuly, ščo to policija, to baba sxovala 'Kobzarja' za pazuxu i vdavala duže xvoru ljudynu. "As soon as we noticed that it was the police, grandmother hid the Kobzar in her bosom and acted as if she were a very sick woman."

útká, adv. (dial.) - zvidky, zvidty "from where, whence, from there, from that place, (thence)." Un byl s tuho syla z utka i vuny: "He came from the same village as they (did)." It could be: zútka < zvídky.

vporidyty, v. (dial.) vporjadyty (dial.) - vporjadkuvaty, vlaštuvaty "to bring to order, to play the master, to manage, to prepare, to equip." My tam si vporidyly na nič, aly pryjšla taljagrama, ščo poljaky zabyrajut' to mistečko: "We had entrenched ourselves there for the night but received the telegram that the Poles were occupying the town." The word vporidyty is a simplification of vporjadyty: vporjadkuvaty.

vújaš, n. m. (dial.) - kúrtka, kožušok "jacket, jerkin, small sheepskin." Vin mav takyj fajnyj vujaš na sobi: "He wore such a nice sheepskin jacket." The origin of this word is unknown. It is widely used in Lethbridge among the Carpatho-Ukrainians, and is possibly Hungarian in origin.

zakordónci, n. pl. (neol.) - "foreigners, inhabitants of a foreign country." My, zakordonci, mohly vyrtatysja dodomu do Halycyny: "We, (the) foreigners, could have returned to Galicia."



zavyxódy, n. pl. (dial.) - zvyxatysja "to bustle about, make haste, hurry."

Misto maje svoji zavxyody. Čuluvik xodyt s pljacu na pljac: "Town life has its own problems. Man walks from place to place."

znyváryty, v. (neol.) - robyty znyva "to begin harvesting." Čy vy vže troxy znyvaryly? "Have you started harvesting already?" This neologism was recorded in Bonnyville.

The foregoing analysis of ninety dialectisms (64 nouns, 13 verbs, 8 adverbs, 4 adjectives, and 1 interjection) has demonstrated that they were used primarily by Ukrainian pioneer farmers, small-town merchants, civil administrators, and labourers.

The informants were asked to relate in story form their experiences and accomplishments in the Ukraine and in Canada. Thus their dialectal speech reveals an abundance of everyday terms--words relating to tools, articles of clothing, buildings, industry, physical environment and, to a lesser degree, to their material-spiritual culture; this reflects their peasant origin (as stated in the introduction concerning the characteristics of Ukrainian vocabulary).

As the majority of Ukrainians in Alberta come from the western Ukraine, the dialectal lexical features of this region predominate in their speech; a few speakers, however, come from the central Ukraine. Subsequently, their dialectisms vary from region to region according to the place from which their parents or grandparents came. Descendants of people from Bukovina and Galicia share many dialectal features in common words created by their own genius or blended with other forms, both unrecognizable as to origin. The speakers from the Lemko District, the Carpatho-Ukraine, the Kholm District and the Sian River Basin preserved a peculiar and unique vocabulary not found among other pioneers from the western Ukraine.







Speakers from Volhynia and from the Sokal', the <sup>V</sup>Zyda<sup>V</sup>civ and Radexiv districts in the northwestern corner of Galicia, bordering Volhynia, use standard literary Ukrainian with minor exceptions. Their retention of archaic expressions did not prevent their creating such neologisms as horoden<sup>V</sup>čuký "inhabitants of the Horodenka district," snjatyn<sup>V</sup>čuký "inhabitants of the Sniatyn district," bylískyj (adj.) "of Bellis," Vosétna phonic reduction of Waskatenau a name of Franco-Indian origin of a town in the province.

Difficult foreign words have undergone some changes, simplification and folk etymological re-interpretation in accordance with the nearest Ukrainian meaning and nomenclature, i.e., Natálija (< Italija) "Italy," Vankuvúfyr (< Vancouver), Manipég (< Winnipeg); the concept "potatoes," however, has acquired about a dozen different names not to be found in any modern Ukrainian dialectal dictionary.

The dialectal names for March, used by the older generation, are máryc' (the unstressed /e/ is almost always pronounced as /y/ and márec' (< Pol. marzec) and marot (< L. Martius); the standard term, bérezen', is not widely used by these people.

Some long words were abbreviated by whole syllables for the sake of simpler pronunciation, e.g., búli (< barabuli, pl.) "potatoes," or by combining the two words into one short one, e.g., jačmíx "barley and sack" (haplologic blend)(in humour), Ukáлта : Uk[ra]jína and Al[ber]ta (> Alta) > Ukalta).

Some adverbs were given diminutive suffixes for emphasis, i.e., tútečky (< tut + suffixes -ečk and -y) "here," tamočky (< tam + suffixes -ečk- and -y) "there," etc.

These dialectisms, localisms, neologisms, provincialisms and Alberta-isms play an important role in communication among Alberta



Ukrainians, but standard literary words are slowly replacing them as a result of the rather extensive teaching of standard Ukrainian in Alberta schools.





## CHAPTER III

### BORROWINGS FROM CONTINENTAL LANGUAGES

Any language from which words are borrowed will be referred to as the donor language, and the language into which these words are incorporated will be termed the recipient language.<sup>1</sup> The contact of two languages results in interference not only in the phonic and grammatical fields but also in the lexical, as the vocabulary of a language is "considerably more loosely structured than its phonemics and its grammar...and is beyond question the domain of borrowing par excellence."<sup>2</sup> The borrowed words, however, invariably tend to be assimilated and undergo phonic and grammatical changes (substitution, loss or addition of phonemes, prefixation, suffixation, inflection, intonation, etc.).

The Ukrainian language in Alberta (as in all of Canada) belongs to the group of immigrant languages.<sup>3</sup> It was brought to this province from the Ukraine by individual immigrants and groups of immigrants. Since the greatest number of Ukrainians came from the western Ukraine, their dialects predominate in the spoken language. Besides this influence, these immigrants had also been in contact with the colonial languages (German, Polish, Russian, Romanian, and Czech)<sup>4</sup> in their homeland and had adopted

---

<sup>1</sup>Einar Haugen, Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide (American Dialect Society, November, 1964), p. 41.

<sup>2</sup>Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964), p. 56.

<sup>3</sup>Haugen, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 10, 27.





a great number of words from them when the Ukraine was ruled by Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires, by Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. Some Hebrew-Yiddish words also crept into the language because of long-standing trading with Jews in this territory. The special foreign lexical substrata words and scientific-technical terms were taken from the military and civil administrations. Many of these are still used by Alberta Ukrainians in everyday speech together with provincialisms, localisms and Alberta neologisms which are not found in the standard Ukrainian language of today.

The mechanisms whereby one vocabulary can interfere with another are various and numerous. Given two languages, A and B, "morphemes"<sup>5</sup> may be transferred from A into B, or B morphemes may be used in designative functions on the model of A-morphemes with whose content they are identified."<sup>6</sup> This refers to simple (non-compound) lexical elements in which "the outright transfer of the phonemic sequence from one language to another"<sup>7</sup> is the most common type of interference. Whenever compound lexical elements are present, both processes may be involved. The definition of "simple" words includes not only non-compound words, but also "compounds that are transferred in unanalyzed form."<sup>8</sup>

Phonic interference means a process in which words borrowed from one language, S, are incorporated into another, i.e., P, but a speaker

<sup>5</sup>H. A. Gleason, Jr., An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 53. "Morpheme...is the smallest meaningful unit in the structure of the language...which cannot be divided without destroying or drastically altering the meaning."

<sup>6</sup>Weinreich, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.





"identifies a phoneme<sup>9</sup> of the secondary system with one in the primary language."<sup>10</sup> Fundamentally, it is "the problem whether the borrowed S-morpheme is integrated into the phonic pattern of P, or whether it is rendered in terms of original S-sounds."<sup>11</sup> For example, a Ukrainian speaker might use the Russian morpheme R/<sup>V</sup>ziz'n'/, "life" in a Russian utterance, or he might choose to integrate it phonemically into U/<sup>V</sup>yz'n'/. The difference between the two lies in the nature of the Russian allophone [y] and the Ukrainian phoneme /y/. Russian [y] is a high central vowel, whereas Ukrainian /y/ is higher-mid medium vowel. Russian has no equivalent for the Ukrainian phoneme /y/. Thus, a substitution of this type often occurs when Ukrainian people or monolingual speakers learn Russian as adults. A bilingual speaker attempts to reproduce the borrowed morpheme with its original sounds, while the monolingual one is more likely "to force the loanwords to conform to the native phonetic and phonemic pattern."<sup>12</sup> This is especially evident in borrowings from English into Ukrainian where the two phonemic systems are quite different.<sup>13</sup>

Morphemic interference means integration of loan material according to the grammar of the recipient language. If languages have parallel structures, nouns and adjectives are accepted as nouns and adjectives, are given inflections, genders, and syntactic positions. Verbs are formed within

<sup>9</sup>Gleason, op. cit., p. 9. "A phoneme is a minimum feature of the expression system of a spoken language by which one thing that may be said is distinguished from any other thing which might have been said."

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>12</sup>Weinreich, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

<sup>13</sup>See Chapter IV.



the recipient language by suffixation of the verbal inflections and are also given aspects.<sup>14</sup> Other parts of speech are usually adopted outright, i.e., without any particular change. This chapter will list loan-words which have come into Ukrainian from various languages over the centuries and which are still used. The method used will closely follow that of the second chapter.

angél'skyj, adj. (<Pol. angielski) - anhlijs'kyj "English." To buy angel'skyj farmer: "It was an English farmer." The Ukrainian adjective anhlijs'kyj (anglijskyj, dial.) was replaced by the Polish equivalent angielski with the Ukrainian ending -yj; /s/ is usually depalatalized in dialects under Polish influence.

ánglik, n. m. (<Pol. Anglik) - anhlijec' "Englishman." Za ryverom buv oden anglik, a na Blubyri sami angliki: "One Englishman was beyond the river, but at Blueberry were only Englishmen." This word is taken directly from the Polish. Although at first sight it appears that anglik has been copied from the Polish without any change, this phenomenon also suggests that it could have been a purely Ukrainian neologism created in Alberta, or somewhere else in Canada analogically to such Ukrainian nouns as ŷolovik "man," mexanik "mechanic," botanik "botanist," xemik "chemist," and others, where the Ukrainian suffix -ik plays the formative role.

Armjánija, n. f. (<Rus. Armenija) - Virmenija "Armenia." Armjanija za Kavkazom, tam de j Hruzija: "Armenia is beyond the Caucasus like Georgia." The semi-illiterate informant confused two different

---

<sup>14</sup>Haugen, op. cit., p. 57.







Russian words: armjanin (n.) and armjanskij (adj.) "Armenian" with the noun Armenija "Armenia."

biskup, n. m. (< Pol. biskup) - jepyskop, vladyka "bishop." V dvadcit' druhim roci biskup Bučko pryjždžav do našoho syła: "In 1922, Bishop Bučko visited our village." This is a straight transfer from Polish into Ukrainian.

búnda, n. f. (< Slk. < Cz. < Rom. bunda) - kožux, šuba "fur coat, sheep-skin coat." Vin mav na sobi fajnu bundu: "He wore a very nice sheepskin." This word is taken directly from Slovak without any change.

býtka, n. f. (< Slk. bitka) - bytva, bij "battle, fight." V Užhorodi byla poslidna bytka: "The last battle took place in Užhorod." Straight transfer from Slovak into Ukrainian.

cižma, n. f. (< Slk. cižma) - čobit z vysokymy xaljavamy - "high boot." Xlopy cižmy nosyly u našomu syli: "Peasants wore high boots in our village." Straight borrowing from Slovak. This word is still used in Polish as an archaism, but it refers to high-laced shoes.

cofnútysja, v. (< Pol. cofnać się) - vidstupyty "to retreat." Treba bulo cofnutysja nazad: "It was necessary to retreat." Loan-word from Polish with nasal /a/ dropped.

c'otécnyj, adj. (< Pol. cioteczny brat) - titčyn, titočnyj brat "aunt's brother." U nas bulo četvero dityj i c'otécnyj brat: "There were four of us and (the) aunt's brother at our place." Borrowing from the Polish with the Ukrainian inflectional ending - j (m.).

c'ótká, n. f. (< Pol. ciotka) - titka "aunt." Ja pryjšła do svoji c'otki: "I came to see my aunt." Straight borrowing from Polish without any change.

cúgli n. pl. (< G. Zügel) - vižky "reins, bridle." Trymaj dobry cugli.



ŝcob koni ny povtikaly: "Hold your reins tight so that the horses don't run away." Zügel has undergone many changes: /u/ was changed to /u/, /e/ dropped after /g/, and /l/ acquired /i/ to make it plural.

cúgsfiryŕ, n. m. (< G. Zugsführer (dial.)) - komandyŕ Ŷoty, Ŷotar "chief, lieutenant." Tretyj raz pišov ja do frontu, jak cugsfiryŕ: "The third time I went to the front as a lieutenant." A borrowing with addition of the phoneme /s/.

cýlta, n. f. (< G. Zelt) - namet, Ŷatro "tent." My tam maly cyltu: "We had a tent there." Borrowing from German with Ukrainian phonemic substitution. German /e/ was replaced by Ukrainian /y/, and the German neuter noun das Zelt became feminine in Ukrainian through adding -a following /t/.

Ŷasy, n. pl. (< Rus. Ŷasy) - hodynnyk "watch, clock." Vin dav myni xaroŝi Ŷasy: "He gave me a good watch." Straight borrowing from Russian.

Ŷérvjec, n. m. (< Pol. czerwiec) - Ŷerven' "June" Ja rodyłasja Ŷerfca Ŷisnadcjatoho: "I was born on the sixteenth of June." A straight borrowing from the Polish by a Ukrainianized Pole who otherwise spoke standard Ukrainian.

dáča, n. f. (< Rus. dača) - litnja xatyna nad ozerom, vilija "summer cottage." Jizdyv na daču kolo lyjku: "He went to his summer cottage by the lake." A straight borrowing from the Russian.

dykábr, n. m. (< Rus. dekabr') - hruden' "December." V dykabri my pyryjšly hranycju do Avstriji: "In December we crossed the border into Austria." A straight borrowing from the Russian with hardening of the final /r/.

dykúnok, n. m. (< G. Deckung) - okopy, zaxyst, prykryttja, zabezpečennja "trenches." My sydily v dykunkax, a kuli svystaly nad holovov: "We were sitting in the trenches, and bullets were whistling above





our heads:" A hybrid composed of the German stem Deckung and the Ukrainian suffix -ok. The German phoneme /g/ was dropped in Ukrainian with the unstressed /e/ changing to /y/.

dzjura', n. f. (< Pol. dziura) - dira, dirka "hole." Mydvid' buv v dzjuri kolo xaty: "The bear was in a hole near the house." A straight borrowing from Polish except that the Polish penultimate stress was switched to the last syllable according to the rules of Ukrainian accentology in two-syllable words.

fájno, adv. (< G. fein) - harno, čudovo "nice, pretty, wonderfully well." My maly dužy fajnu pohodu včora: "We had very nice weather yesterday."

familija, n. f. (< G. dial. Familie) - rodyna, simja "family, relatives."

My majem vylyku familiju v Kanadi: "We have a big family in Canada."

An age-old borrowing from the German which became a dialectal feature of the west Ukrainian. The German ending -e changed in Ukrainian to -ja, thus remaining feminine.

fest, adv. (< G. fest) - skoro, duže "very quickly, strongly." Ja z nym taky fest posvaryvsi: "I had a heated argument with him."

fěstor, n. m. (< G. Ferster (dial.)) - lisnyčyj, poberežnyk "forester." Tam je dobryj fěstor u lisi: "A good forester is in the forest there."

A hybrid word taken from the German and used in Bukovina. German /r/ was dropped, /s/ before /t/ became /š/ as in Stein "stone" and the German suffix -er was replaced by the Ukrainian suffix -or, i.e., Ferster > fěstor.

fil'várok, n. m. (< Pol. filwarek, dial.) - velyke hospodarstvo "large land-owner's estate." Ja robyv na filvarku dužy dovho: "I worked on a big agricultural farm for a long time." A borrowing from the Polish during the Middle Ages. The Polish suffix -ek was replaced by -ok.



fíra, n. f. (<G. Fuhre, dial.) - viz, pidvoda "wagon, cart, load, carload."  
Pokydaly svoji valisky, baksočky, tak vony vsi jdut na pixotu za  
firov: "They abandoned their suitcases and boxes and all of them  
 walked on foot behind the cart." This word was borrowed from the  
 German and became dialectal in everyday speech in the western  
 Ukraine.

frájtyr, n. m. (<G. Gefreiter) - staršyj strilec "Lance Corporal."  
Ja vyjšov šarža pry vojsku, jako frajtyr: "I was given the rank  
 of Lance Corporal in the army." This military term has been  
 taken from German; the prefix ge- has been dropped.

frájvilik, n. m. (<G. Freiwilliger) - dobrovolec, oxotnyk "volunteer."  
Ja pišov frajvilikom do ukrajinskoji armiji v tysjača devjatsot  
visimnajcjatomu roci: "I joined the Ukrainian Army as a volunteer  
 in 1918." A borrowing from the German by an informant from Galicia  
 with the Ukrainian ending -om, and /g/ changed to /k/.

gátki, gáti, n. pl. (<Hung. gatyá <Slk. gate <Pol. gatki, gacie)  
polotnjani štany, pidštanci "linen pants." Muj stryjko nosyv  
siri gati: "My uncle wore grey pants." The origin of this word  
 is probably Hungarian as the informant came from the Carpatho-  
 Ukraine where the Hungarian language had left many local features;  
 alternatively, its origin could be Polish as the word closely  
 resembles the Polish gatki, gacie.

gázi, n. pl. (<Pol. gaza [młynarska]) - mlynova sytočna tkanyna "bolting  
 cloth." Vsju odežu zabraly vid nas v kupyly, jakoj my maly, a nam  
daly gazi jakoj bula: "All clothing was taken from us at the bath,  
 and we were given bolting cloth which was available." The Polish  
 word gaza [młynarska] was borrowed with but a minor change: the  
 ending -a was replaced by -i.







- goj, n. m. (< Yid. Goj) - durna ljudyna "Goyim, stupid fellow." A to mišiginyj goj: "Oh, what a stupid fellow he is!" This is a Jewish derogatory term used to characterize Christians and people lacking business sense. A straight borrowing without any change.
- gónbyci, gómbyci, n. pl. (< Slk. gombik, dim.) - gudzyky "buttons." U n'oho byly taki fajni gombyci na bljuzci: "He had such nice buttons on his jacket." A loan-word from the Slovak with native Ukrainian palatalization /k/ > /c/ in the nominative plural; the Slovak language lacks this phonetical feature.
- gyšéft, n. m. (< Yid. Gescheft) - pidpryjemstvo, torhivlja, kramnycja, majsternja, robitnja "business, trade, shop, enterprise." My maly fajnyj gyšeft v misti: "We had a nice business in the town." A straight borrowing from the Yiddish.
- gvavt, interj. adv. (< Yid. Gewalt) - rjatuajte! duže skoro, pospišajte "Help! Come quickly, very quickly." My vsi v gvavt, rjatuajte nas!: "We all began shrieking, shouting help, help us!" As a result of close trade relations with local Jews, Ukrainians borrowed many Yiddish words and vice versa.
- Halícija, n. f. (< Pol. Galicja) - Halyčyna "Galicia." Ja vsju Haliciju obijšov u vajnu: "I travelled through the whole of Galicia during the war." The Polish word Galicja was Ukrainianized according to Ukrainian phonetical rules.
- Hermánija, n. f. (< Rus. Germanija) - Nimeččyna "Germany." Cilu zimu v Hermaniji žyv: "I lived in Germany the whole winter." Straight transfer from Russian with the change of the Russian /g/ to the Ukrainian /h/.
- hosudárstvenyj, adj. (< Rus. gosudarstvennyj) - deržavnyj, urjadovyj "state, governmental, official." Služyly pry hosudarstvenomu lisi pry



prystavi: "They worked for the government forestry department at the (forestry) police station." A straight transfer from the Russian with /g/ changed to /h/.

jegómost', n. m. (< Pol. jegomość) - svjaščenyk "priest, reverend father."

U nyx buv jix vlasnyj jegomos'c', u tyx Galicijaniv: "They had their own priest, those Galicians." A straight borrowing from the Polish.

jest', v. (< Ukrainian OCHS. jest') - je "is" V parlamynti jest' špiony, ny to ščo

v universytjeti: "Spies are to be found even in the House of Commons, not excepting university." A survival from Ukrainian OCHS, used by Ukrainians as a literary language up to the eighteenth century.

kanješno, adv. (< Rus. konečno) - zvyčajno "of course, certainly."

Kanješno, ščo vin znav: "Certainly, he knew it." A straight borrowing from the Russian by a speaker who spent most of his life serving in the Russian Imperial Army before the First World War.

kanóna, n. f. (< G. Kanone) - harmata "cannon, gun." Tohdy my zaladувалы

kanony na gary i jidem do Pol'sci vojuvaty: "Then we loaded the cannons on the train and went to fight Poland." The word kanona was borrowed from German without any change in its stem, but in dialectal speech the ending -e was replaced by the Ukrainian feminine ending -a.

kanonjér, n. m. (< Pol. kanonier) - harmaš, puškar, harmatčyk "gunner,

artillery man." Mij tato buv pry kanonjerax i vmiv dobry striljety:

"My father was with the artillery and knew how to shoot well." A straight borrowing from the Polish without any change.

kápral', n. m. (< Pol. kapral) - kapral, molodšyj seržant, vistun "corporal."

Ja buv kapralem v armiji: "I was a corporal in the







army." Straight borrowing from the Polish with palatalization of the semi-palatal Polish /l/.

kaz'ónnyj, adj. (< Rus. kazěnnnyj) - deržavnyj, urjadovyj, spil'nyj "governmental, official, communal." My maly kaz'onnyj pljac i horod robyly: "We had a government lot and planted a garden."

A straight borrowing from the Russian.

kljaštor, n. m. (< Pol. klasztor) - monastyr "monastery." Naši oficery pišly do toho kljaštoru i zabraly vse zvidty dlja nas: "Our officers went to that monastery and took everything there for us." koljéja, n. f. (< Pol. koleja) - koliya, zaliznycja, zaliznyčna doroha "railway, railway track, railroad." Tuj koljeja pušla z Letbrydž: "The railway was built from Lethbridge onwards...." A straight borrowing from the Polish without any change.

kúfyr, n. m. (< Pol. kufer) - skrynja na odjah "coffer, trunk, cloth-wardrobe." U meny buv povnyj kufyr xustok: "I had a whole trunk of headsquares." This word was borrowed from the Polish, but it originally came from the German Koffer or English coffer.

lično, adv. (< Rus. lično) - osobysto, personal'no "personally." Ja Pilipivskoho lično znav, daže buv u n'oho v xati: "I knew Pylypiv personally; I had even been to his place." A straight borrowing from the Russian without any change.

ljágyr, n. m. (< G. Lager) - tabir "camp, war prisoner's camp, military camp." Avstrijakiv zhanjely do ljagriv: "The Austrians were herded into the internment camps." A straight borrowing from the German.

ljéctyj, adj. m. (< G. letzte [r]) - ostannij, najhiršyj, najdurnišyj "Idiot, last, the worst, the stupidest, idiot." Vin buv ljectyj učen v kljasi: "He was the stupidest pupil in the class."



A borrowing from the German with the addition of the Ukrainian adjectival ending -yj.

ljérva, n. f. (< L. larva) - pusta žinka, prostyutka "bad woman, prostitute."

Ta žinka bula lyerva. Koždyj v syli se znav: "That woman was bad (prostitute). Everybody in the village knew it." This word was brought to villages by high school students who deliberately used it in order to lessen the derogative meaning among the peasants.

lýgija, n. f. (< Cz. - legie, < Slk. legia) - legion "legion." Všytki čexy jšly v lygiju: "All of the Czechs joined the legion." This word was probably borrowed from the Czech legie "legion" as the informant comes from the Carpatho-Ukraine, a part of Czechoslovakia from 1919 to 1939, and he himself was a member of this legion. Later, this word was Ukrainianized by adding the feminine ending - ja to the Czech stem: legi + ja > legija. Alternatively, this word could be traced to the Slovak language in which the word is legia, i.e., it is identical with the Ukrainian word légija (dial.) The phoneme /e/ was replaced by the Ukrainian /y/ in dialects.

lygionár, n. m. (< Cz. legionař < Slk. legionar < Rom. legionar) - legioner "legionary." Častyna lygionaru byla v Rosiji: "A part of the legion was in Russia." A straight borrowing from Czech or Slovak.

mašingvyr, mašingver, n. m. (< G. Maschinengewehr) - skorostril "machine gun." Zistav prytaľovanyj do mašingvyriv, jak kapral: "I was assigned to the machine gun, like a corporal." A borrowing from the German with a minor change in the second part of a compound word where German /en/ and one /e/ were dropped.

méno, n. n. (< Slk. meno) - imja "name, first name." Vona maje sloven'ske meno "She has a Slovak name." A straight borrowing from the Slovak.







mišiginyj, adj. m. (< Yid. mešigene) - prydukvatyj, troxy umovo xvoryj "stupid, silly, crackbrained." A to mišiginyj goj: "Oh, what a silly man he is!" This word, borrowed from Yiddish acquired a very derogatory meaning, i.e., mentally unbalanced. Here the first part of the word has remained unchanged, but the second part has undergone Ukrainianization as the flexical Ukrainian adjectival endings have been added.

Mixal, n. m. (< Pol. Michał) - Myxajlo "Michael." Mixal kupyv novu garu "Michael bought a new car." A straight borrowing from the Polish.

múndur, n. m. (< Pol. mundur) - mundyr, odnostrij uniform "uniform." Vin mav fajnyj mundur: "He had a nice uniform." A straight borrowing from the Polish; the standard Ukrainian has replaced the Polish /u/.

nahaljárom, adv. (< G. Alarm) - tryvoha, aljarm, pospix "alarm, fright, anxiety, fear, haste, speed, hurry, in haste, in a hurry." My to zrobyly nahaljarom i tomu tak ny dobry vyjšlo: "We did it in a hurry and that's why it turned out so badly." Breaking down this word into its component parts one sees that it consists of one main German stem Alarm and the Ukrainian affix na "on, in" and the prosthetic /h/. It was formed analogically to such expressions of manner as: casom "sometime," skorym krokom "by a fast march," etc. As the Ukrainian language does not tolerate final clusters such as -rm, the /o/ was inserted for euphony.

néxce, v. (< Pol. nie chce) - ne xoće "does not want." A vona nexce ce robyty: "And she does not want to do this." A straight borrowing from the Polish by people who lived among Poles for centuries, especially Ukrainian Lemkos in the Lemko District province west of the Sian River.



nykogdá, adv. (< Rus. nikogda) - nikoly "never." My nykogda ny robymo v nedilju: "We never work on Sunday." Borrowing from the Russian with unstressed /i/ which was substituted by /y/ in spoken Ukrainian.

obórok, n. m. (< G. Überrock) - nahortka, surdut, sjurtuk "frock-coat." Vin vzjev na seby oborok i vyjšov s xaty: "He put on a frock-coat and left the house." A borrowing from the German, but the word has undergone many phonetical changes; the German front rounded vowel /ü/ changed to /o/ and only one /r/ remains of the original two.

óficyr, n. m. (< Pol. oficer) - staršyna v armiji z rangoju "officer." Nasi oficyry pišly do nydalekoho kljašturu po reči dlja vojska: "Our officers went to the nearby monastery to get some supplies for the army." A straight borrowing from the Polish by a veteran who served also in the Polish army in the 1930's.

oktjábr, n. m. (< Rus. oktjabr') - zovten' "October." Ja narodyvsja vos'moho oktjabrja vosjemdysjat vos'moho v Poltavi "I was born in Poltava on the eighth of October, eighteen hundred eighty-eight." A straight borrowing from the Russian.

oružýje, n. n. pl. (< Rus. oružie) - zbroja, "weapon, arms." U vsytkix zabraly oružyje v Ameryci: "Weapons were taken from everybody [aliens] in America." A straight borrowing from the Russian.

osadniki, Npl. (< Pol. osadnicy) - kolonisty "colonists, settlers." To bula zemlja osadnikiv: "It was settlers' land." A borrowing from the Polish but the plural is formed according to Ukrainian grammatical rules where the allomorph -i replaces the Polish -y.

paroxód, n. m. (< Rus. paroxod) - paroplav, korabel' "steamer, steamship."







Paroxod zabrav carja za hranycju: "The Tsar went abroad by steamer."

A straight borrowing from the Russian.

pljac, n. m. (< G. Platz) - misce, miscevist', okolycja "place, site, surrounding, locality, district." Jak ty ljubys' toj pljac?: "How do you like that place?" A straight borrowing from the German when Galicia and Bukovina belonged to Austria-Hungary from 1772 to 1918.

pljen, n. m. (< Rus. plen) - polon "captivity." Xlopцы были в плену: "The boys were in captivity." A straight borrowing from the Russian without any change.

počtí, adv. (< Rus. počti) - majže "almost, nearly." Bulo dva anhlijci, a rešta počti vsi ukrajinci z Haličyny: "There were two Englishmen and the rest were nearly all Ukrainians from Galicia." A straight transfer from the Russian.

pojút, v. (3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl.) (< Rus. pet') - spivaty "to sing." Jak žalibno ptyčky pojut...: "Oh, how sadly sing the birds." A straight borrowing from the Russian which is preserved among the older generation of pioneers who remember many songs of the days when Russian troops occupied Galicia and Bukovina (1914-1915).

pokójnyj, n. + adj. m. (< Rus. pokojnyj) - pomerlyj "late, the deceased." Pokojnyj Arsenjuk dostavav pys'ma z domu: "The late Mr. Arseniuk was getting some mail from home." A straight borrowing from the Russian, or a preservation of an ancient form from the Old Church Slavonic among the older generation of Ukrainian settlers from Bukovina and Galicia.

političeskij, adj. m. (< Rus. političeskij) - polityčno pidozrilyj "political suspect." Ja buv s političeskim stupnem i tomu vyjixav zakordon: "I was a political suspect and that's why I



went abroad." A straight borrowing from the Russian.

poslídnyj, adj. m. (< Rus. poslednij) - ostannij, jakisno hiršyj, ostatocnyj,  
duže bidnyj, neščasnyj "last, final, ultimate, inferior (in quality),  
extreme misery, very poor." To buv joho poslídnyj den' u nas.

Vin buv poslídnyj (čolovik): "It was his last day at our place.

He was in extreme misery." A straight borrowing from the Russian,

but the Russian /e/ was changed to /i/ and /i/ to Ukrainian /y/.

povnušátysja, v. (< Rus. vnušat') - radyty, vseljaty "suggest, to instill,

to respect, to impress." Vin ny povnušajecca narodum: "He does

not inspire his people." Po + vnuš+a + ty+sja > povnušatysja.

povynuvátysja, v. (< Rus. povinovat'sja) - pidkorytysja "to obey, to

submit, to serve." I ja vašij vlasti povynujusja: "And I submit

to your orders." A straight borrowing from the Russian except

that the Russian akanie was not adopted in the Ukrainian spelling.

pozvoljénje, n. n. (< Pol. pozwolenie) - dozvil "permit, permission,

leave." My musily maty svoje pozvoljenje: "We ourselves had to

have permission." A straight borrowing from the Polish.

prepodaváty, v. (< Rus. prepodavat') - vykladaty, učyty "to lecture, to

teach." U nas vse prepodavaly po-rus'ky do vojny: "At our place

everything was taught in Russian before the (Great) war." A

straight borrowing from the Russian.

prošényje, n. n. (< Rus. prošenie) - proxannja, pros'ba "petition, application."

Vony daly prošényje do sudu: "They submitted a petition (application)

to the court." A straight borrowing from the Russian with /i/ > /y/

in the penultimate syllable.

prystáva, n. f. (< Rus. pristav) - policijna stanycja "police station with

the entire staff and their families." Mij čolovik buv u prystavi, ja včyla  
ditej







po-rus'ki: "My husband was a bailiff at the police station, and I taught the children Russian." A borrowing from the Russian with a small change in phonemes: Russian /i/ was replaced by /y/ in Ukrainian, and the new word also acquired the ending -a.

púlja, n. f. (< Rus. pulja) - kulja "bullet." Puli letjat' i vin buv ranenyj: "The bullets were flying, and he was wounded." A straight borrowing from the Russian.

pýlka, n. f. (< Pol. piłka) - mjač<sup>V</sup>, futbol "ball, football." My hraly v pylku na škil'nij jardi: "We played soccer in the school grounds." A straight borrowing from the Polish with the Polish /i/ replaced by /y/ in Ukrainian.

rancóvanyj, adj. m. (< G. ranzig) - zhirklyj, stuxlyj, jilkyj "rancid, become bitter, musty, fusty." Dity musily jisty rancovanyj xlib: "The children had to eat rancid bread." This word was originally borrowed from the German, but it underwent changes according to Ukrainian adjectival formation, i.e., German ranz + ovan + yj > rancóvanyj.

rubjél', n. m. (< Rus. rubl') - karbovanec' - "ruble." Dav jemu dvjesti rubljej i časy<sup>V</sup>: "I gave him two hundred rubles and a watch." A borrowing from the Russian with insertion of the phonemic sequence /je/ after /b/.

rupcák, n. m. (< G. Rucksack) - naplečnyk<sup>V</sup> "knapsack." Ja nabrav povnyj rupcak hrošyj avstryjskych<sup>V</sup>: "I packed my knapsack full of Austrian money." A borrowing from the German with /ks/ in the middle of the word becoming /bc/ or /pc/ in rapid speech.

rymontyróvka, n. f. (< Rus. remontirovka) - remont, naprava "repair, maintenance." Govyrynymt daje hroši na rymontyrovku budynkiv<sup>V</sup>: "The government subsidizes the maintenance of buildings." This word



is borrowed from the Russian, but with substitution of the Russian /i/ by the Ukrainian /y/.

scytáty, v. (< Rus. scitat') - čyslyty, raxuvaty "to count, to enumerate."

Ja jix ny scytala tyx ukrajinciv tam: "I didn't count those Ukrainians there." A borrowing from the Russian.

scytáv'sja, v. (< Rus. scitat'sja) - uvažatysja za šcos' "to be considered."

Bohatyj scytavsja, a bidno žyv, bo ne vmiv žyt': "He was considered a rich man, but he lived poorly because he didn't know any better." A borrowing from the Russian.

sdjélaty, v. (< Rus. sdelat') - zrobyty "to do, to make, to work." Šco nam

sdjelaty?: "What shall we do?" A borrowing from the Russian.

séndzja, n. m. (< Pol. sędzia) - suddja "judge, jury." Pryjixaly doktoryky,

pryjixaly sendzi: "The doctors and judges arrived." A straight borrowing from the Polish.

sobránije, n. m. (< Rus. sobranie) - sxodynny, viče "meeting, gathering."

Jak pišla carycja na sobraniye, pobačyla jiji pikčjer...: "Since the tsarina went to the meeting, she saw her own portrait...." A straight borrowing from the Russian.

sojedinjátysja, v. (< Rus. soedinjat'sja) - jednatysja "to unite." My

ukrajinci nijak ny sojedinjalysja: "We Ukrainians were in no way united." A straight borrowing from the Russian.

sojedyńeniye, n. m. (< Rus. soedinenie) - objednanja, uniya, spilka, kljub

"unity, union, club, association." Vony prystaly do našoho

sojedynenija: "They joined our union." A borrowing from the

Russian with minor Ukrainianization of certain phonemes, e.g., Russian /i/ has changed to Ukrainian /y/, via the so-called Russophile movement in the Carpatho-Ukraine during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.





spódni, pl. only (<Pol. spodni, spodnie) - stany "breeches, trousers, pants."

Maju spodni: "I have pants." A straight borrowing from the Polish without any change.

spójenja, n. n. (<OCHS, spojenije) - spilka, objednannja, uniya, kljub

"unity, association, club, union." Vony maly svoje spojenja

"They had their own club." This is a Church Slavicism preserved among the older generation of the Carpatho-Ukrainians in Lethbridge.

spólok, n. m. (<Slk. spolok) - spil'nota, hromada, kljub, uniya "society,

club, union, association." Vuny ny maly prybytku j prystaly do

spolka: "They had no income and joined the association." This word is taken directly from the Slovak.

spóra, adj. f. (<Rus. sporyj) - velykyj "profitable, big." Tam dosyt'

spora hromad volynciv: "A sufficiently huge community of Volhynians is there." A straight borrowing from the Russian.

sútky, n. pl. (<Rus. sutki) - doba "day and night." My byly stynacit'

sutkiv - dobiv u L'vovi: "We spent two weeks in Lviv." A

borrowing from the Russian without change, but dobiv /sic!/, an

incorrect Ukrainian form, was also used. In this case, the correct form is dib.

šánci, n. pl. (<G. Schanze) - okopy, šanci "trenches." Voroh vdersi v

naši šanci i my musily pity na bagnety: "The enemy had penetrated

into our trenches, and we had to use bayonets." The singular word

Schanze with its ending -e was changed to the plural in Ukrainian

by substituting phoneme /i/.

šárža, n. f. (<French charge) - ranga, kategorija, stupin', kljasa "rank,

category, degree, class." Ja був vysokov šaržov pry vojsku: "I

had a high rank in the army." A borrowing from the French

with the Ukrainian feminine ending -a.



Šifa, n. f. (< G. Schiff) - korabel', paroplav "ship, steamer." Šify buly v projekti buduvaty: "There was a project to build ships."

Borrowing from German with the German neuter noun das Schiff becoming feminine by acquiring the ending -a.

Šifkárta, n. f. (< G. Schiffkarte) - korabel' nyj kvytok "ship ticket."

Kažy agent: byrit odnu šifkartu i jid'ty do Kanady: "The agent says--take a ship ticket and go to Canada." Straight borrowing from the German, but the ending -e was replaced by the Ukrainian -a, retaining the feminine gender.

Šparuváty, v. (< G. sparen) - švadyty, oščadžuvaty "to collect, to gather, to save." Xotila panuvaty, hroši šparuvaty: "She wanted to rule and to save the money." Borrowing from the German with the Ukrainian verbal suffix -uva- and the ending -ty.

špión, n. m. (< Rus. špion) - špyhun "spy, espionage" A možy vy je samyj špion: "Maybe you are a spy yourself." A straight borrowing from the Russian without any change.

špyg, n. m. (< G. Speck) - salo "bacon." Bil'sy xliba, soly, bil'sy špyga treba: "We need more bread, salt, and bacon." According to the informant, this word originated in Siberia among people deported from European Russia who had been in Germany and had heard the word Speck. Here it underwent some changes: German /k/ changed to Russian /g/.

štémpel, n. m. (< G. Stempel) - pečatka "seal, stamp." Tam buv štempyl dvajcjetoho aprilja: "It was stamped on the twentieth of April." A straight borrowing from German.





što, conj. (< Rus. što) - što that." Vin znav, što to ny bylo moje imja: "He knew that that was not my name." A direct borrowing from the Russian.

styljúnok, n. m. (< G. Stellung) - položennja, vijs'kova pozycja, okopy "position, post, military trench." My sydily v styljunkax dva dni bez jidy: "We sat in the trenches for two days without food." This word was borrowed from the German during the First World War when Ukrainians from Galicia served in the Austrian army. It underwent changes, however, and is a hybrid word composed of two parts: German Stellung + Ukrainian suffix -ok > styljunok. The German phoneme /g/ was dropped in Ukrainian.

švágyr, n. m. (< Pol. szwager, < G. Schwager) - šuryn "brother-in-law." Jiji švagyř ožynyvsi za doljara, bo kupyv dva persteni: "Her brother-in-law got married for a dollar (the price of 2 rings)." This word was borrowed from the Polish, but was originally from German; it came into the Ukrainian language when Galicia and Bukovina were parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire before the First World War.

táńšy, adv. (< Pol. tańsze) - deševše "cheaper." Tam bulo táńšy vižyty: "It was cheaper to live up there." Transfer from Polish.

tányj, adj. m. (< Pol. tany) deševyj "cheap." Cina za trokovanje stala tana: "Trucking became cheaper." A borrowing from the Polish with the Ukrainian adjectival endings.

tengerýcja, n. f. (< Hung. tengeri) - kukurudza "corn, maize." Prynysy myni troxa tengeryci z košnyci nadvori: "Bring me some corn from the wicker basket outside." The Hungarian word tengeri has acquired the Ukrainian suffix -yc + the ending -ja, and the Hungarian /i/ was replaced by the Ukrainian /y/.



tiloxranýtel', n. m. (< Rus. teloxranitel') - oxorona, tiloxoronytel'

"bodyguard." Car mav svoho tiloxpanytelja: "The Tsar had his own bodyguard." A hybrid combination of the Ukrainian tilo and the Russian xranitel', with the Russian /i/ changed to the Ukrainian /y/.

tjótka, n. f. (< Rus. dial. tëtja) - titka "aunt." Moja tjotka žyje na Glendon. "My aunt lives in Glendon." A borrowing from the Russian.

tóže, adv. (< Rus. tože) - takož, tež "also, too, as well." V parlamynti tože jest špiony: "Spies are also to be found in Parliament."

A straight borrowing from the Russian.

trafúnok, n. m. (< Pol. trafunek) - vypadok, neščastja "misfortune, accident." Trapljavsja jim (tatovy) takyj trafunok, ščo j hrozylo smertju: "My father was so often involved in misfortunes that he narrowly escaped death on many occasions." A borrowing from the Polish, with the suffix -ek replaced by the Ukrainian -ok.

túrnja, n. f. (< Slk. turna, arch. ) veža, bašta "tower, turret." Tam stojala vylyka turnja: "There stood a big tower." A straight borrowing from the Slovak.

týfus, n. m. (< Pol. tyfus) - tyf "typhoid fever, typhus." Ja zaslab buv na tyfus des' v džulaju: "I contracted typhus sometime in July."

A straight borrowing from the Latin via Polish.

uješčyk, n. m. (< Rus. ueščik, arch. ) - viznyk "driver, coachman."

Tato buly starsym uješčykom "My father was a senior coachman."

A straight borrowing from the Russian.

ukazáty, v. (< Rus. ukazat') - pokazaty, vkazaty "to show, to indicate, to show the way." Ale ja ny hodyn jix vam ukazaty: "But I cannot show them to you." A borrowing from the Russian with the verbal ending -t' changed to -ty.







vdykuvátysi, v. (< G. eindecken) - okopatysja v okopax, prykrytysja čymos'  
zverxu v okopax "to entrench oneself in a ditch, to conceal oneself  
 in a trench." My vdykuvalysi v štyljunkax i čykaly na nastup  
poljakiv: "We entrenched ourselves in our positions and waited for  
 a Polish attack." The compound German word (ein + decken) has  
 undergone two substantial changes: morpheme ein- has been replaced  
 by the v- and the verb decken by -dykuvatysi in accordance with  
 Ukrainian verb formation.

vlast', n. f. (< Rus. vlast') - vlada, urjad "authority, power." I ja  
vašij vlasti povynujusja: "And I submit to your government."  
 A direct transfer from the Russian.

vojevúdstvo, n. n. (< Pol. województwo) - vojevidstvo, oblast' "province,  
 territory under the rule of a governor." Ja poxožu z susidn'oho  
syla, daže z mistječka, daže vojevudstvo ljubel's'ke: "I come  
 from the neighbouring village, or from the same town, even from  
 the same province of Ljublin."

vrahý, n. pl. (< Rus. vragi) - vorohy "enemies." My ny staly vrahamy:  
 "We didn't become enemies." This word comes from OCHS, via Russian.

vsýtko, adv. (< Czech. vsecko) - vse, vsjudy, zavždy "always, all,  
 everything, everywhere, steady." Tuj vsýtko pryri byli:  
 "Everywhere here there were prairies." This is a modified borrowing  
 from the Czech by speakers from the Carpatho-Ukraine, now residing  
 in Lethbridge.

výspa, n. f. (< Pol. wyspa) - ostriv "island." Tam bula vyspa kolo  
Nevjorku: "There was an island near New York." A straight  
 transfer from Polish in dialectal speech.

xlopý, n. pl. (< Pol. chłopi) - seljany, xliboroby "peasants, farmers,



village dwellers." Potomu pryj<sup>v</sup>šov nad ryvyr i dyvljusja xlopy robjat: "Then I approached the river and saw peasants working." Borrowing from the Polish; Polish plural ending -i was replaced by the Ukrainian -y.

zrixtuváty, v. (< G. anrichten) - pryhotovyty, zlahodyty "to prepare, to make ready, to arrange." Zrixtuvaly nam žinky lonč i to my jily po dorozí: "Our wives prepared lunch for us and this we ate during our trip." This word was borrowed from the German. It consists of two separate borrowings: the prefix an- which is used in German to designate "to put into, packing into something, putting something into something" in the perfective aspect of a verb, was replaced by the Ukrainian prefix z- also having a perfective meaning; the second part of the word richten was changed according to Ukrainian verb formation by taking the suffix -uva- and the ending -ty.

zygárok, n. m. (< Pol. zegarek) - hodynnyk "watch, clock." Zygarok pryviv nas do konara: "Timing ourselves with a watch, we got to the corner of the street." Zygarok was borrowed from Polish, but in Ukrainian it has undergone two changes: the clearly enunciated /e/ changed to unstressed /y/ and the Polish suffix -ek was replaced by the Ukrainian suffix -ok.

žómnir, n. m. (< Pol. żołnierz) - vojak, žovnir, soldat, vojin, strilec "soldier." Poljaky maly svoji žomniry: "The Poles had their own army." The Polish word żołnierz has undergone phonic transformations: /ʐ/ changed to /m/, while final /ʂ/ was substituted by Ukrainian /r/.

žyzn', n. f. (< Rus. žizn') - žyttja "life." Nykogda v žyzni ny vbyly





carja: "The Tsar was never killed, upon my life!" A straight transfer from the Russian and OCHS.

The foregoing is an analysis of 130 lexical borrowings (91 nouns, 11 adjectives, 15 verbs, 12 adverbs, 1 interjection and 1 conjunction) into Ukrainian from various languages with which the Ukrainians were in contact in their homeland. All of these were brought by them to Alberta. The informants from whom these forms were obtained were of the same class of farm labourers, small-town merchants, etc. as in the second chapter. Here, however, the findings differ as to the character of lexical borrowing.

As the entire central Ukraine and the north-west province of Volhynia belonged to Tsarist Russia where Ukrainian was not taught in school, the Ukrainian press suppressed, and public use of the Ukrainian language severely persecuted, lexical material from that area reveals forty-five Russian loan-words from only three informants of the older generation. Two of these served in the Tsarist Army as officers and the woman informant had lived in the Caucasus and Central Asia, although she had spent her childhood in the Ukraine, south-west of Kiev. In spite of this, their children speak much better Ukrainian than their parents. Lexical material from these informants includes terms used in civil administration, in the military, for personal names, the calendar months, numerals, dates, and literary expressions. The majority of Russian loan-words were adopted without change in gender, part of speech, or inflection, because of the close grammatical similarity between the languages involved. Most changes were found in phonemic adaptation from Russian to Ukrainian.

By and large, the order and nature of borrowing from Russian did not follow a consistent pattern and depended on the degree of the particular speaker's bilingualism, the frequency of usage, and the influence exerted



by the people among whom the bilingual person lived.

The number of Polish loan-words (37), obtained from over a hundred informants from Galicia and compared to those of Russian loan-words from three informants from the central and north-western Ukraine, demonstrates perhaps a greater resistance to borrowing from Polish. This in spite of the fact that Galicia belonged to Austria-Hungary from 1772-1918, under Polish civil administration, and to Poland from 1919-1939. Polish loan-words include terms relating to civil administration, e.g., séndzja "judge;" military terms: kápral "corporal;" medical terms: piǵúlka "pill;" kinship terms: c'ótka "aunt;" household utensils: róndel "saucepan;" clothing: spódni "pants;" diminutive personal names such as Mixálko "little Michael," etc. The majority of Polish loan-words were adopted without change, except for the loss of nasality in Ukrainian, as the two languages are closely related.

The German loan-words (28) in Ukrainian originated almost entirely in the military field, e.g., cúgsfirer < Zugsführer (dial.) "lieutenant," as young men served in the Austrian Army for many years and were exposed to the German language throughout their military training. Technical terms, e.g., vaservága < Wasserwaage "water level," agricultural: Štel'váha (Stellwage, dial.) "doubletree," names of means of transportation: šífa < Schiff "ship," "steamer," šífkáta < Schiffkarte "ship ticket," and other expressions of civil administration complete this field of borrowing.

These loan-words in Ukrainian underwent considerable phonemic and grammatical changes. The front rounded vowels /ö, ü/ were replaced by Western Ukrainian /e/ and /i/ respectively, e.g., Kel'n < Köln "Cologne," Gmínda < Gmünde "Gmuende," Minxen < München "Munich," híl'za < Hülse "pod, husk," etc.







Feminine nouns ending in -e received the corresponding Ukrainian ending in -a, e.g., Gmínda < Gmünde, vaservága < Wasserwaage. The phoneme /g/ often changed to Ukrainian /h/, e.g., štel'váha, or to /k/ as in frájvilik < Freiwillig(er) "volunteer." Masculine and neuter nouns were transferred without any change while adjectives and adverbs took Ukrainian -yj (m.), -a (f.), -e (n.) and -o (adverbs), e.g., fájno < fein "nicely."

Verbs and verbal nouns adopted Ukrainian prefixes, suffixes and verbal endings throughout, e.g., šparuváty < sparen (špar + uva + ty) "to save," zrixtuváty < anrichten (z + rixt + uva + ty) "to prepare, to repair, to arrange," dykúnok (dekun + ok) "trenches." In the last example the German phoneme /e/ became unstressed in Ukrainian because of the shift in stress toward the suffix -ok and is therefore pronounced /y/; the phoneme /g/ was dropped and the Ukrainian suffix -ok was added. The phoneme /e/ is often changed to /i/, e.g., šánci < Schanze "trenches."

The Hungarian final syllables -i and -ya were replaced in Ukrainian by the suffix -yc-plus the ending -ja as in tengerýcja (< tenger(i) + yc + ja) "corn," and in gatyá > gáti "linen pants." Words ending in -a were borrowed without any change, e.g., pípa "pipe."

The Czech and Slovak vocabularies are very close and many loan-words used by the Carpatho-Ukrainian speakers could be of either origin, e.g., legionar < Slk. legionar or Czech legionár<sup>v</sup> "legionary," and legija < Slk. legia or Czech legie "legion." The political allegiance of the Carpatho-Ukraine to Czechoslovakia (1918-1939) suggests that the borrowing took place from the official language--rather than Czech than Slovak, although the Slovak words more closely resembled Ukrainian. Borrowing took place from the socially higher language, Czech, rather than from the neighbouring Slovak language. These loan-words refer primarily



to the military domain, articles of clothing, buildings, and farm tools.

The four Yiddish loan-words demonstrated and used throughout Galicia were borrowed centuries ago due to trade relations with Jews in this territory. They underwent phonemic and morphemic changes, e.g., mešigene > mišiginyj "crackbrained, mentally unbalanced, stupid," but monosyllabic words like goj "stupid fellow" were adopted without change.

Old Church Slavonic jest' "is", supported by its use in Russian remains unchanged, while Latin larva changed to ljerva "bad woman", e.g., /a/ > /je/. (The number of these loan-words are: Hungarian 3, Slovak 6, Czech 5, Yiddish 4, Latin 1 and Old Church Slavonic 1).

To sum up, almost all the lexical borrowing in Alberta Ukrainian from German, Russian, Polish, Czech and Romanian languages (the latter not investigated as yet\*) embrace the political, military and civil administrative spheres to which the Ukrainians were subjected in their own territory during the course of centuries.

Cultural and technical-scientific terms in western Europe were borrowed into Ukrainian often via the dominant languages, but after borrowing, these terms became assimilated and considered as "loan translations" and as such were brought to this province.

Peasants, with their highly developed and extensive vocabulary, generally borrow only necessary terms not found in their own language and are a conservative element vis-à-vis foreign lexical borrowing. When the Ukrainian peasants arrived on this continent, however, they encountered a new system and a more advanced civilization and were compelled to borrow extensively.

---

\*Scheludko, D.: "Rumänische Elemente im Ukrainischen," Balkan-Archiv 1.113-46 (1926) provides information on Romanian loan-words in Ukrainian, but it was not part of this project to consult printed sources or to use any material not actually collected during field research.







As the spiritual and Church laws in the Eastern and Carpatho-Ukraine were under direct Russian and Hungarian jurisdiction, words of the relevant domains from the Russian and Hungarian languages were borrowed in large numbers by the Ukrainians. In the western Ukraine (especially Galicia), where Church and spiritual matters were not directly under the jurisdiction of the government, the native or historically Ukrainian terms were preserved and developed, thus enriching the Ukrainian spiritual culture and the associated vocabulary, which was transplanted to Alberta.

All these "foreign lexical substrata or superstrata" were preserved among members of the older generation, but are now gradually disappearing from the speech of their descendants with the current teaching of standard Ukrainian in some Alberta high schools and at the University.



## CHAPTER IV

### ENGLISH LOAN-WORDS

This chapter deals with the English loan-words in Alberta Ukrainian, the interlingual relationship between the two socio-linguistic groups, English and Ukrainian, and the question of why and how the borrowing process has taken place.

The first thing to discover is how a bilingual group comes into existence and why certain members of one socio-linguistic group learn the language of another. The learning of one language in early childhood is a universal human accomplishment, but the mastery of two or more is necessitated by special circumstances. Mostly, early Ukrainian pioneers, for political reasons, knew at least two languages before coming to this continent, e.g., those from the central Ukraine, formerly a part of Tsarist Russia, also knew Russian; those from Galicia--Polish and German, from Bukovina--German and Romanian, and from Carpatho-Ukraine--Hungarian, Slovak, and Czech. Thus, one may conclude that a bilingual Ukrainian was a result of linguistic pressure upon him from the dominant and alien foreign government and its officials.<sup>1</sup>

In Alberta, strong economic, political, and social pressure had been exerted on minority language groups at the turn of this century when bilingual schools were abolished by an act of the Legislature. This, in

---

<sup>1</sup>Einar Haugen, "Problems of Bilingualism," Lingua, Volume II, No. I (Aug. 1949), p. 279.





turn, gave rise to counter-pressures of a religious and cultural nature aimed at maintaining the linguistic identity of Ukrainians by establishing parochial and private schools and organizations throughout the province.

In exploring lexical borrowing and the reasons motivating it, one finds that the need to designate new things, persons, places, and concepts is the universal cause for this phenomenon. By determining the types of loan-words, the linguist is able to demonstrate what one language community has learned from another, e.g., the Ukrainians and Poles used and brought with them to Canada Romanian words pertaining to mountain habitats and cattle grazing.<sup>2</sup>

Besides these external causes for lexical innovations--social pressure and need--several internal linguistic factors play an important role and contribute to the innovating process. One such internal factor is the low frequency of words:

It has been shown that, other things being equal, the frequent words come easily to mind and are therefore more stable; relatively infrequent words of the vocabulary are, accordingly, less stable, more subject to oblivion and replacement.<sup>3</sup>

Although the Ukrainian language possesses its own designations for meals, e.g., snidanok, obid, poludenok, pidvečirok and večerja, it borrowed the English equivalents breakfast, dinner, lunch, afternoon tea, and supper, which are used approximately 80% of the time throughout the bilingual Ukrainian communities. This phenomenon is explained by the fact that early Ukrainian pioneers went out to work in the summer for English-speaking farmers (or on a railway, to the bush, or to the mines), and in the winter they returned home and brought with them many English words

---

<sup>2</sup> Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964), p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 57.



which they had learned.

The second internal factor in lexical innovation is "pernicious" homonymy, when borrowing from another language is necessitated to avoid a clash of homonyms, e.g., Ukrainian peasant's xata "house," velyka xata or mala xata "large room (house) in a house and/or a small one in the same house." As this created a triple homonym, the word havz "house" was probably borrowed from the English language.

A third reason is "the well-known tendency of affective words to lose their expressive force,"<sup>4</sup> or a constant need for synonyms in an onomastic low-pressure area. Whenever synonyms are available in another language, they are gladly borrowed, especially to replace local euphemisms and slangy "cacophemisms," e.g., Ukrainian ryhaty "to vomit" is readily substituted by vykydaty or vertaty "to throw out or to return by peristaltic movement."

Three other factors stimulate prompt lexical borrowing by bilinguals. First, when a bilingual person compares his own language to another he may feel that some of the terms used in his own language are insufficiently differentiated.<sup>5</sup> The western Ukrainian speakers, having closer contact with Latin in schools, felt that the word sen'or used to denote both "senior in rank" and "rich landlord," was therefore inadequate; thus, a distinction was made between the two homonyms, e.g., henceforth the Latin senior designated only "senior in rank," and sen'or "rich landlord" (from the Spanish).

A second consideration in lexical borrowing is "the symbolic

<sup>4</sup>Weinreich, op. cit., p. 58.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 59.





association of the source language in a contact situation with social values, either positive or negative."<sup>6</sup> If one language is endowed with prestige, the bilingual is likely to borrow more abundantly from it as a means of displaying a higher social status, e.g., Latin words in English, or English words in Alberta Ukrainian. As the immigrant feels himself in a marginal position for a long time, he increasingly borrows from English to raise his social status, and as he gains proficiency in the new language, social pressure leads him to make a linguistic change and a complete language shift. Language prestige is so important that one account lists 652 English loan-words in Montreal Ukrainian, 4 French words--gateau "cake," camion "truck," climatisé "air conditioned," and pompier "fireman"-- and only one Indian word (via English) "moccasins."<sup>7</sup>

The third consideration is borrowing in the case of cacophemisms and slangy speech to avoid unfavourable associations of words in the other tongue.<sup>8</sup> For example, since the Ukrainian word for "bad woman" was too cacophemistic, the Ukrainians borrowed from the German the word śél'ma, and from the Latin ljérva (<lárva).

Finally, frequently a bilingual speaker unconsciously borrows from the vocabulary of other languages in affective speech when his attention is diverted from his manner of speaking to what he is saying.

In this chapter over three hundred English loan-words are cited, words used in everyday speech by Alberta Ukrainians of almost all walks of life. Examples, explanations, and analyses of each loan-word are provided.

<sup>6</sup>Weinreich, op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>7</sup>Jurij-Myroslaw Lewyckyj, "Les canadianismes lexicaux dans la langue des ukrainiens de Montréal" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation) (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 1961), pp. 62-64 and 67-68.

<sup>8</sup>Weinreich, op. cit., p. 60.



ájdyl, adj. m. (<idle) - linvyj, bezdiál'nyj, dozvil'nyj, vil'nyj

Ja pišov do lisa robyty za ajdyl. U Vinnipegu ja buv takož

ajdylom: "I went to the forest to be idle. In Winnipeg, too,

I was idle." The sequence /dʲɪl/ is rendered in Ukrainian

as /dyl/.

áiryš, n. m. (<Irish) - irljandec'. Tam žyly sami airyši: "Only Irishmen

lived there." Straight transfer.

ákyr, n. m. (<acre) - akr: English land measurement, about 0.4 ha,

Možna bulo braty homstety try doljary akyr: "One could have had a

homestead at three dollars per acre." Straight borrowing.

al'byrtán, n. m. (<Albertan) - al'bertec'. Čy vy je al'byrtan?: "Are

you an Albertan?" Straight borrowing.

apríl', n. m. (<April) - kviten'. To bulo peršoho aprilja todi: "At

that time it was the 1st of April." Straight borrowing from the

English or from the German April.

apstýz(a), n. m. f. (<upstairs) - nahori, nahoru, naverx, uhoru. Malen'kyj

apstyz tam buv nahori v tij xati. Zrobyv ja baksynku skvyrovu na

apstyzj: "There was a small upstairs in that house. I made a

small square box upstairs." The word upstairs (adv. and/or adj.)

became a noun of two genders: masculine because of its ending -z,

since the majority of Ukrainian nouns ending in a consonant are

masculine.

arcybišyn, n. m. (<exhibition) - vystavka, pokaz čohos' pryljudno. V

Edmontoni budy fajnyj arcybišyn v džulaju: "There will be a nice

exhibition in Edmonton in July." Folk-etymological simplification

of the unfamiliar syllables /eksi/ to the familiar /arcy/; the

form /arcy/ was known to Ukrainian in words such as arcybiskup







"archibishop" (Pol.), and they probably used it analogically in arcybiśyn. The other form eksybiśyn is also heard in the province.

ávgúst, n. m. (< August) - serpen'. Ja pryjixav sjuda v avgusti: "I came here in August." Straight borrowing from the English or from the German August.

na ávt, phr. (< out) - kudys', pide het', zahubyt'sja, ne dijde v vidpovidne misce "out, will be lost, won't be delivered to the right address or place, will go astray." To pujdy lyst na avt: "The letter will be lost somewhere." This adverbial phrase is a hybrid composed of the Ukrainian preposition na "to, on, towards, upon, by, for, at, against, with, etc.," and the English adverb out.

bádygard, n. m. (< body-guard) - osobysta oxorona, oxoronec', eskort, lejbhvardija. Vin mav kolo seby badygard, toj carjevič: "That prince had his own body-guard." Straight borrowing.

bájsyk, n. m. (dim.) (< bicycle) - velosyped (W.U. kóleso and róver).  
bájsykyl,  
Ja maju fajnyj bajsykyl: "I have a nice bicycle." Straight borrowing. In the diminutive, the Ukrainians probably interpreted bic as the stem and -yk as the suffix.

baks, n. m. (< mailbox) - poštova skryn'ka. Mij adrys: baks ten tyrti tu: "My address: Box 1032." Straight borrowing by a Canadian-born Ukrainian.

bákxa, n. f. (< box) - skrynja, skryn'ka. My vikynuly baksu knyžok na dvir po smerty našoho djedi: "We threw out a box of books after the death of our father." The English word box acquired the ending -a and became a feminine noun in the Ukrainian speech of the older generation. By means of Ukrainian diminutive suffixes, e.g., -ock-, -ynk-, new nouns can be formed--báksočka, baksýnka, baksýnočka "small box."





bála, bálka, (dim.) n. f. (< ball) - mjač, mjačyk. Daj balu! Xodit,

budym byty balu! De tvoja balka, Slavku?: "Give me the ball!

Let us play ball! Where is your little ball, Jerry!" Straight borrowing, but the diminutive balka in Ukrainian means "a depression in a field." An Alberta neologism not having any semantic or analogical relationship to the Ukrainian word balka.

bans, n. m. (< bun "roll") - bulka. Ja nyn'ki kukisy spykla, paja zrobyla,  
a zavtra spyču keksy i bansy: "Today, I baked cookies and made pie, and tomorrow I will make cakes and buns." Straight borrowing.

bárbyr, n. m. (< barber) - holjar, perukar. Z našoho syla byv tež jeden  
barbyr: "There was also one barber from our village." Straight borrowing.

bas, n. m. (< bus), (< boss) - (a) avtobus (b) starsyj vidpovidal'nyj za šcos'  
robitnyk. Ja robyv basom na Myklavd laini: "I worked as a foreman on the McLeod Line." Tohdy začjely basy vozyty dityj do školy:  
"Then they began taking children to school by buses." Straight borrowing with the Ukrainian phoneme /a/ substituting for two English phonemes /ʌ/ and /ɔ/ respectively.

bátlja, n. f. (< bottle) - pljaška, skljanika. Vin mav batlju horivky-  
samohonky: "He had a bottle of homebrew-whisky." Borrowing, with the Ukrainian word becoming feminine through the addition of the ending -a.

bécljer, n. m. (< bachelor) - samitnyj, neodruženyj, xlopec'. Tam bulj  
sami becljery, homstedery: "There were only bachelors-homesteaders there." Straight borrowing.

béga, n. f. (< bag) - torba. Zlizly my z tryna j nesemo ti begy na plecax:  
"We got off the train and carried those bags on our backs."  
Straight borrowing, with the addition of the Ukrainian phoneme /a/





at the end of the word; thus, it becomes a feminine noun analogically to torba.

beklájna, n. f. (< back lane) - bična doroha, vulycja, stežka. Xodžu v Edmontoni po beklajnax i sukaju xliba po garbyčax: "I walk along the back lanes in Edmonton and look for bread in the garbage cans." Borrowing from two separate English words back and lane resulted in the compound word beklajna with the addition of the Ukrainian feminine ending -a. The English word line became confused with the word lane and displaced it in beklajna.

benk, n. m. (< bank of a river) - bereh riky. Korovy sy lyšyly na benkovy ryveru: "Cows stayed on the bank of the river." Straight borrowing.

bicigli, [pin'cigli (loc.)], Npl. (< bicycle) - velosyped (W.U. róver and kóleso). Mij brat maje fajni bicigli: "My brother has a nice bicycle." This word, like biga "pick," has undergone similar phonemic changes especially in the root of the word -cycle, where /k/ became /g/; and the final /l/ acquired syllabic /i/.

bíga, n. f. (< pick) - džagan, kajlo, kyrka. Traba bulo kurčuvaty. Nam traba bulo bigi i sukyry: "It was necessary to clear the overgrowth. We needed a pick and an axe." This word was borrowed from the English; to pik was added the feminine ending -a, and later the phoneme /p/ was changed to /b/ and /k/ to /g/. It was probably more difficult for the first pioneers to pronounce píka than bíga. Generally speaking, voiced consonants prevail in Ukrainian.

biznesmen, n. m. (< businessman) - kupec', prodavec', torhivec'. Ja samyj biznesmen: "I am a businessman myself." Straight borrowing.



blénkyt, n. m. (< blanket) - pokryvalo, nakryvalo, kovdra. Nysu na blynkýti dytynu: "I am carrying a child in the blanket."

Straight borrowing, with the phoneme /æ/ pronounced as /y/.

blok, n. m. ((< block) - a block of apartments) - dil'nycja, kvartal.

Vin žyje dva bloky vid cerkvy: "He lives two blocks from church." Straight borrowing.

bójstók, bájstók, n. m. (< box-stove or heater) - Vin mav šek z bajstokom u nim: "He had a shack with a box stove in it." This word is a Canadian neologism created by the first pioneers. The earliest stoves were in the form of a box; the word box-stove was distorted to a degree so that the English phonemes /ks/ were dropped, /s/ changed to /š/, and /v/ to /k/.

bójsyk, (dim.), n. m. (< a little boy) - xlopčyk. Mij bojsyk xodyt uže do školy: "My little boy already attends school." A hybrid of the English plural boys and the Ukrainian diminutive suffix -yk.

bomuváty, bumuváty, v. (< to bum (slang for "to loaf")) - ledarjuvaty, volocytysja, tynjatysja bez dila. Vin bomuvav i horivku robyv. Odyn syn bumuje po Kanadi: "He was loafing about and making homebrew. One son is loafing around Canada." A hybrid composed of the English bum and the Ukrainian verbal suffix -uva- and the ending -ty.

bóngalo, bángalo, n. m. (< bungalow) - odnoverxovyj budynok z verandoju, bungalo. My meškaly v bongalo vže dva roky: "We have lived in a bungalow for two years." Straight borrowing.

bord, bort, n. m. (< board, boarding) - xarčuvannja, xarči, uprava školy. De vin buv na borti? Škil'nyj bord sfajeruvav odnoho včytelja: "Where was he boarding? The school board dismissed a teacher." Straight borrowing, but the older speakers usually substitute the final English phoneme /d/ for the Ukrainian /t/.







bórdinghá<sup>v</sup>z, n. m. (< boarding-house) - pansion, xarč<sup>v</sup>uval'nyj budynok.

Misiz Martynjuk mala bordinghavz v Edmontoni: "Mrs. Martyniuk had a boarding-house in Edmonton." Straight borrowing.

bovt, n. m. (< boat) - čoven. Myxtarevyč zajixav na Pis Ryver bovtom:

"Mykhtarevich reached Peace River by boat." Straight borrowing.

brékfy<sup>s</sup>t, n. m. (< breakfast) - snidanok. Koly ty majes svij brékfy<sup>s</sup>t?:

"When do you have your breakfast?" Straight borrowing, but the Ukrainian equivalent snidanok is still used, mostly by older pioneers.

Brísung, GN. (< British Columbia) - (Brytans'ka) Koljumbija. Ja robyv u Brísungu bil'sy, jak dva roky: "I worked in British Columbia for more than two years."

A haplologic blend composed of two words: British and Columbia. This word was initially created by French Canadian pioneers who worked in British Columbia; it was later borrowed by the Ukrainians. The primary strong stress versus the secondary weak one reduced the two words to one:

Brítish Colúmbia > Brí(tí)sh Cólumb > Brísh Clúm > Brísh cUMB >

Bríscumb<sup>9</sup> > Brísung. The morpheme -ung could be the German nominal

ending added by the first German-speaking Ukrainians coming from Austria-Hungary. Thus, it is an Anglo-Franco-German-Ukrainian combination, no longer heard in Alberta.<sup>10</sup>

brok, p. p. p. (< broke financially) - zbankrotovanyj, bez hrošej:

My vže buly brok vid Krismysu: "We have been broke ever since Christmas." Straight borrowing.

<sup>9</sup> I am indebted for this explanation to R. G. Motut, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Aug. 1, 1965.

<sup>10</sup> Related by Peter Svarich, 91-year old Ukrainian pioneer from Vegreville, who worked in British Columbia at the turn of the century. Edmonton, June 16, 1964.



bučárnja, n. f. (< butcher's shop) - mjasarnja. Til'ky oden stor i bučárnja  
buly tohdy na Rojkroft: "At that time there was only one store and  
 a butcher's shop in Rycroft." A combination of the English stem  
butcher and the Ukrainian suffix -n + ja, i.e., butcher + n + ja >  
bučárnja. The English phoneme /ð/ changed in Ukrainian to /a/  
 analogically to the standard Ukrainian word mjasarnja.

bukkipyr, n. m. (< bookkeeper) - knyhovod, buxhal'ter. Ja tam buv za  
bukkipyra: "I was a bookkeeper there." Straight borrowing. This  
 word is frequently used throughout the province.

bum, n. m. (< boom) - popyt, požvavlennja v torhivli, bum. Todi buv bum  
na l'oty: "Then there was a boom in the sale of lots (of land)."  
 Straight borrowing.

bunč, bonč, n. m. (< bunch) - hrupa, kupa, hromada. U jix bulo bunč ditej,  
a hrošyj ny bulo. Jix pryjixalo bonč z Volyni: "They had a flock  
 of children but no money. A flock of them came from Volhynia."  
 Straight borrowing, but the English phoneme /ð/ differs from  
 speaker to speaker depending on the degree of his bilingualism.  
 The older generation pronounces it like the Ukrainian /u/ or /o/,  
 while the younger generation pronounces it like the English  
 phoneme /u/.

buš, n. m. (< bush) - lis. Pišovjem do bušu robyty: "I went to work in  
 the bush." Straight borrowing. This word is used throughout Alberta.

bušyl', n. m. (< bushel) - bušel' (16 kilograms). Ja mav bušli pšynyci  
seho roku: "I had bushels of wheat this year." Straight borrowing.

byjsment, n. m. (< basement) - pidval', pyvnycja. Vylljaly toj byjsment  
vid hodyny šestoji do semoji: "We poured that basement from six  
 o'clock to seven." Straight borrowing.







bytuváty, bituváty, v. maty uspix "to travel illegally by freight train from place to place during the Depression of the 1930's, to be more successful in something than someone else." Anhlijci vybyralysja het', bo ukrajinci bytuvaly jix u vsemu na farmax. My bytuvaly tryna z Ferni do Vinnipegu pidčas kryzy v tryjcjatyx rokax: "The English were moving away because the Ukrainians were more successful than they were in farming. We used to travel illegally by freight train from Fernie to Winnipeg during the economic crisis of the thirties." The word bytuvaty was used by the Ukrainian pioneers during the Depression. It is possible that the English stem beat acquired the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

býznys, n. m. (< business) - torhivlja, pidpryjemstvo, kramnycja. Ja začjev byznys organizuvaty: "I started to establish a business." Straight transfer.

čikuváty, v. (< to check) - perevirjaty, zapysaty kil'kist' pryvezenoho šutru čy inšoho materijalu. Mij frend čikuvav grap na hajvejax: "My friend was checking the gravel on the highways." A hybrid composed of the stem check, and the Ukrainian verbal suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

dájeri, n. m. (< diary) - ščodennyk. Kurijak kazut' mav svoj dajeri: "People say that Kyrijak had his diary." Straight borrowing. Used rarely.

dázyn, dózen, n. m. (< dozen) - dvanadcjatka, djužyna, tuzyn. Organizuvallys'mo cerkvý, xrystyly dityj po dazy novy na raz: "We set up churches and christened children, a dozen at a time." Straight borrowing. Used throughout Alberta.

Déni, PN. (< Danny) - Danylo, Danylko (dim.): Daj mini balu, Deni!: "Give me the ball, Danny." Straight borrowing. Used often.



dič, dyč, n. m. (<ditch) - riv. Kyrijak i Luhovyj robyly v dyčax po

Al'berti: "Kyrijak and Luhovyj worked in ditches in Alberta."

Straight borrowing. Used widely in Alberta.

dinérka, dynérka, n. f. (<dinner box) - obidnja bljašanka. Vin vzjev z

sobov dinerku i pišov na robotu: "He took his lunch-box and went

to work." A hybrid noun composed of the English stem dinner

and the Ukrainian feminine suffix -k- and ending -a > dinérka. Used

throughout the province.

dínyr, n. m. (<dinner) - obid. Koly ty maješ sviy dinyr? "When do you

have dinner?" Straight borrowing. Used frequently.

disémbyr, n. m. (<December) - hruden'. Na peršoho disembra ja pryjixav

dodomu z roboty: "I returned home from work on the 1st of December."

Straight borrowing. Used widely in Alberta.

drajvuváty, v. (<to drive) - keruvaty, jizdyty avtom. Nixto ny drajvuje

tak typer: "Nobody drives that way now." A hybrid composed of

the English stem drive and the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and

ending -ty.

drésyk, (dim.) n. m. (<dress) - sukonočka. Todi dresykiv takyx ny bulo,

jak nyn'ka: "They didn't have such nice little dresses as they

have today." A Ukrainian diminutive suffix -yk was added to the

English stem dress, i.e. dress + yk > dresyk. Used throughout

Alberta.

dryl', n. m. (<drill) - sverdlo. Ja roblju drylem na dorozi v misti

Edmontoni: "I operate a drill on a road in the city of Edmonton."

Straight borrowing. Used often.

dvorumóva, adj. f. (<two-room) - dvokimnatna. Tut bula dvorumova skola

na Vyl'ni: "There was a two-room school here at Vilna." A

hybrid composed of the Ukrainian numeral dva, the English word







room, and the Ukrainian adjectival suffix -ov- and ending -a.

Dvyjn, PN. (< Dwain) - Dvyn (no equivalent Ukrainian name). Dvyjn, de ty je? "Dwain, where are you?" Straight adoption. Used throughout Alberta.

dydéktyv, n. m. (< detective) - tajemnyj cyvil'nyj policyst. Toj dydektyv zaareštuvav toho špyhuna nydavno: "That detective recently arrested a spy." A straight borrowing, but the phoneme /t/ was substituted in Ukrainian by /d/. Used throughout Alberta.

dýfyrinc, n. m. (< difference) - riznycja. Nam ny robylo dyfyrinc: pravoslavna cerkva bula i ukrajin'ska i rumun'ska: "It did not make any difference to us: there were both Ukrainian Orthodox and Romanian churches." Straight borrowing. Used widely in Alberta.

dypózyt, n. m. (< deposit) - zavdatok, zastava, vkladka v bank. Vin dav dypozyt na farmu, a ja jemu potom zvyrmuv: "He gave me a deposit on the farm, and later I payed him back." Straight borrowing. Used widely.

dýri, n. f. (< dairy) - molocarnja. Džan robyt v dyri v Lethbrydz: "John works in a dairy in Lethbridge." Straight borrowing. Used rarely.

dýstrykt, n. m. (< district) - okruha, rajon, viddil. U nas buv lyše oden škil'nyj dystrykt: "We had but (only) one school district." Straight borrowing. Used throughout the province.

dyvíziija, n. f. (< school division) - škil'na okruha. My zyly pjet' myl' vid škil'noji dyviziji: "We lived five miles from the school division." Straight borrowing. Used throughout Alberta.

Džan, PN. (< John) - Ivan. Mij syn nazyvajesi Džan: "My son is called John." Straight borrowing.

džanuár, n. m. (< January) - sičen': Na cotyrynacitoho džanuara budu malam sisdysjat sist' rokov: "I will be sixty-six on the 14th of January."



Straight borrowing, but the stress falls on the last syllable, a characteristic of Carpatho-Ukrainian pioneers residing in the Lethbridge area. Used throughout the province.

džékřébit, n. m. (< jackrabbit) - dykyj pol'ovyj zajec'. My zyly džekrebitamy, patrydzamy, dykymy kurmy: "We lived on jackrabbits, partridges, and (wild) prairie-chicken." Straight borrowing. Used throughout the province on the farms.

Džordž, PN. (< George) - Jurij, Jurko. Ja maju brata Džordža: "I have a brother named George." Straight borrowing.

džuláj, n. m. (< July) - lypen'. V džulaju zajšlo pjet' čolovikiv na Bonancu: "Five men came to live in Bonanza in July." Straight borrowing. Used everywhere in Alberta.

džun, n. m. (< June) - červen'. Mozy to bulo v džunu?: "Perhaps it was in June?" Straight borrowing. Used throughout the province.

efidyjvit, n. m. (< affidavit) - pys'move svidčennja pid prysjahoju, dozvil. My pryjixaly do Kanady na efidyjvit tysjaču devitsot dvacit' vos'moho roku: "We came to Canada on an affidavit in 1928."

éksident, n. m. (< accident, chance) - vypadkova зустріч, випадок, nespodivanka, neščaslyvyj wypadok. V misti si zdybajem xiba jak eksident: "We meet only by chance downtown." Straight borrowing. Used widely in Alberta. Jixaly garov i tohdy maly eksident: "We drove a car and then had an accident." Straight borrowing.

ékstragýng, n. m. (< extra-gang) - zaliznyčna robitnyča hrupa dlja napravy zaliznyčnogo šljahu. Ja robyv na ekstragyngu: "I worked on an extra-gang." The alternative, ekstragynok was created by means of the Ukrainian suffix -ok. Straight borrowing. Used everywhere in the province.







Élyk, PN. (<Alec, Alex) - Oleksander, Oleksa, Oleksij. Moje mnje Elyk Humenjuk: "My name is Alec Humeniuk." Straight borrowing.

eplikýj<sup>V</sup>syn, n. m. (<application form) - anketa, proxannja, zajava.

Ja pysav eplikyj<sup>V</sup>syn dlja imigrantiv po kanadyjski papery: "I completed the application-forms for immigrants applying for their citizenship papers." Straight borrowing. Often used throughout Alberta.

fajtuvátysja, fajtuvátysi, v. (<to fight) - bytysja, borotysja. Vin pryjixav sjuda fajtuvatysi za svoje lo drajvuvaty trokom: "He came here to fight for his right to drive a truck." A hybrid composed of the stem fight, the Ukrainian verbal suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

farमारuváty, farmuváty, v. (<to farm) - hospodarjuvaty, obrobljaty zemlju.

Ja tut vid dvacit' tret'oho roku farमारuju: "I have been farming here since 1923." A hybrid composed of the stem farm, and the Ukrainian verbal suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

fenc, n. m. (<fence) - plit, tyn, drotjana perehoroda. My fiksuvaly fency na farmax: "We fixed fences on the farms." Borrowing, with the English phoneme /s/ replaced by the Ukrainian /c/ = /ts/.

fiksuváty, fíksaty, v. (<to fix) - napravljaty, lahodyty. Pidy, viz'my hamyr i pofiksuj fenc: "Go, take a hammer and fix the fence." A hybrid composed of the stem fix, and the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

flu, n. m. (<flu) - grypa, perestuda, prostuda. Žinka mala flu vdoma: "At home my wife had the flu." Straight borrowing.

fóрман, n. m. (<foreman) - kerivnyk. Ja buv za formana na sekciji: "I was a section foreman." Straight borrowing.



fórnys, fýrnys, n. m. (<furnace) - ohrival'nyk, ohrival'na pič u pyvnyci domu, hornó. My maly staryj fornys u saljeri: "We had an old furnace in the basement." Borrowing, with the English phoneme /θ/ replaced by the Ukrainian /o/ or /y/ respectively.

frend, n. m. (<friend) - pryjatel', druh, tovaryš. V Edmontoni ja buv z frendamy na pyvi: "In Edmonton I was out drinking beer with my friends." Straight borrowing.

fryjt, n. m. (<freight train) - vantažnyj poizd. My pryjixaly fryjtom z Kalgariv do Edmontonu: "We came to Edmonton from Calgary by freight train." Straight borrowing.

fryjtuváty, frejtuváty, v. (<to freight) - perevozyty kram vantažnym poizdom. Litnov porov moji dity jšly frejtuvaty: "In the summer time, my children were sending goods by freight. A hybrid composed of the stem freight and the Ukrainian verbal suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

fut, fit, n. m. (<foot, feet) - stopa, fut. Xata bula vysčá z jakyj fit! "The house was about a foot higher." The English singular foot and plural feet are interpreted by Ukrainians as interchangeable forms; and therefore, one hears odýn fut or odýn fit "one foot" depending on the degree of the speaker's bilingualism.

Galicijány, PN. (<Galicians) - halyčany [Ukrainians]. Ti galicijany zanjaly cilu sekciju zymli. "Those Galicians took over the whole section of land." Phonemically, Ukrainian speakers changed the English phoneme /ʃ/ to the Ukrainian /c/ in -cia-.

Gališyn sentyr, n. m. (<Galician Centre) - oseredok, centr (Immigration Hall). My sydily v Gališyn sentyr bil'sy, jak dva tyžni byz roboty: "We stayed in the 'Galician Centre' for more than two weeks without work." Straight borrowing. This dialectism, however,







means "Immigration Hall" where the first Ukrainian pioneers from Galicia were kept before they went to work on the railways or homesteads; it has lost its original meaning and is now considered an "archaism".

gára, n. f. (< car) - avto, samoxid. Mij brat kupyv novu garu seho lita:

"My brother bought a new car this summer." This word underwent changes and substitutions of phonemes; the new phonemes were easier to pronounce for the first pioneers, i.e., /k/ > /g/, and the word obtained the Ukrainian feminine ending -a. It is difficult to state whether or not the early pioneers associated semantically the Ukrainian gara "cart" (a vehicle for transporting sand or potatoes from the field in the autumn) with the modern "cart", but these two words are homonyms and parallel conjectures could be drawn from them. Alternatively, Alberta Ukrainian probably did not import E. car (which later changed to gara) but substituted its own gara "cart". They both perform the same functions of transport and communication. The native word gara served in Ukraine for both functions, i.e., people brought home sand or potatoes and then went by the same vehicle to town, to the market-place or to visit neighbours, or they went to fetch the priest, a doctor, etc.

garbyč<sup>V</sup>, n. m. (< garbage) - smittja, smitnyk. Ja vynis stare smattje na garbyč<sup>V</sup>: "I threw the old clothes into the garbage." Straight borrowing. Widely used in the province.

garbyč ken<sup>V</sup>, n. m. (< garbage can) - bljašana bočka na smittja, zbirnyk na smittja. Vidnysy to i vkyn' tam do gerbyč kenu<sup>V</sup>: "Please carry it away and throw it into the garbage can." Straight borrowing. Used widely.

grábyl, grap, n. m. (< gravel) - tovčene kaminnja, suter<sup>V</sup>. Kyrijak cikuvav



grap na dorohax: "Kyrijak was checking gravel on the highways."

Vin poviz grabyl trokom dohory: "He took gravel up the hill by truck." In the first case the English phoneme /v/ was substituted in Ukrainian by /b/; the second short form was probably adopted erroneously for grub or for the abbreviation of grábyl. Again it depended on the degree of bilingualism and on the personal culture of the speaker.

gréjdyr, n. m. (<highway grader) - dorohonapravljač<sup>V</sup>. Nam ny vil'no rušyty grejdyra, vs'o mexaniky napravljajut: "We are not allowed to touch a grader; everything is repaired by mechanics." Straight borrowing. Used widely.

grémyr, n. f. (<grammar) - hramatyka: Mova typyrišna [ukrajinska]<sup>V</sup> je trudna dlja našyx dityj: cy to slova, cy gremyr?<sup>V</sup> "Contemporary Ukrainian is difficult for our children: the words or the grammar?" Straight borrowing. Used widely.

greyd, n. m. (<grade) - kljasa, sort, gatunok. To vuna tohdy xudyła šče do vodynacitoho grejdu du školy<sup>V</sup>: "At that time she was still in the eleventh grade at school." Pšenycja bula tretyj grejd<sup>V</sup>: "It was wheat of the third grade." Straight borrowing. Used throughout Alberta.

gróseri, n. pl. (<grocery) - xarčy<sup>V</sup>, jiža<sup>V</sup>. V Edson kupyv sobi muky, groseri i pojixav volamy na Rojkroft: "In Edson I bought flour and groceries and went to Rycroft with an ox-team." Straight borrowing. Used widely throughout Alberta.

grósyrštor<sup>V</sup>, grósyrištor<sup>V</sup>, n. m. (<grocery store) - sklep, kramnycja z xarcamy<sup>V</sup>. V Pis Ryver ny bulo nic: oden grosyrštor i staryj hotel' z l'ogiv: "There was nothing at Peace River: one grocery store and an old log hotel." Straight borrowing. Used widely in Alberta.







grýnyk, grýnyr, n. m. (<granary) - spyxlir. Traba bulo scoroku

grynyr buduvaty: "It was necessary to build a granary every year."

Both variants have undergone Ukrainianization and are used by first and second generations variously; the older monolingual Ukrainians will say grýnyk. (1.) gryn + yk > grynyk; (2.) grýnyr. The final English phoneme /i/ has been dropped. Used widely in the province.

gubyrmán'skyj, adj. m. góvyrnymnt, gubyrmán, n. m. (<government) - urjad,

uprava, upravlinnja, deržavnyj, urjadovyj. Daly rylif, a kuxni bula

gobyрман'ska. Ja ny budu bil'sy na gubyrmana robyty i kuplju sobi

štora: "They gave us relief, and the soup-kitchen was a governmental one. I will not work for the government any longer. I'll buy myself a store." From one English word government the Ukrainian pioneers created a number of words such as gúbyрман, góbyrnymnt, góverman, gubyrmán'skyj, gubyrmán'skyj, depending on the frequency of use and the degree of bilingualism of the early pioneers.

guraléry, n. pl. (<Go to hell!) - povorotci z Kanady v Ukrajinu, jaki

pryvezly z sobuju ci obrazlyvo-soromlyvi slova "Returnees from

Canada to the Ukraine brought with themselves these swearing-

derogative words." A ti guralery z Kanady! "Ah, those go-to-

hell fellows (returnees) from Canada!" A fusion of three words

into one which created a neologism hardly resembling the model

language. Used very rarely.

gurézman, n. m. (<garage-man) - haražnyk. Odna moja don'ka viddana za

gyrežmena: "One of my daughters married a garage owner." Straight

borrowing. Used throughout the province.

gyjc, gyjt, n. m. (<gate) - vorota, brama. Ja pryjšov do šeku gubyrman'-

skoho i zbyv sobi gyjc: "I moved into the government shack and

made myself a gate." A borrowing, with phonemic substitution of



the English phoneme /t/ by Ukrainian /<sup>V</sup>c/. Used rarely. The form gyjt is usually heard throughout Alberta. The former--gyjc<sup>V</sup>--has been preserved among the old Ukrainian pioneers.

gynok, n. m. (<gang) - castyna, robitnyca bryhada, hrupa robitnykiv artil'.

Ja pišov na gynok robyty: "I went to work on the extra gang."

The English word gang has been almost entirely assimilated to Ukrainian. The phoneme /æ/ changed to Ukrainian /y/, /ʒ/ was replaced by /n/, and the suffix -ok was attached to the new stem gyn-. The reasons for such linguistic assimilation can be explained by going back diachronically to the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries when the early semi-illiterate and illiterate Ukrainian pioneers were building railroads in southern Alberta and west of Edmonton where they heard this word every day.

gyrež<sup>V</sup>, n. m. (<garage) - haraz. Maju dva gyreži<sup>V</sup>: na Smoki Lejku i na

Torhild: "I have two garages: one at Smoky Lake and another at Thorhild." Straight borrowing, but this word entered standard Ukrainian a long time ago and it was only slightly changed phonetically.

hajskul, n. f. (<high school) - serednja škola, himmazija. Mij syn i

don'ka xodjat do hajskul v misti: "My son and daughter attend high school downtown." Straight borrowing.

hajvej, n. m. (<highway) - doroħa, sljax, hostynec'. My pojixaly hajvejom

do Kalgari: "We went to Calgary by the highway." Straight borrowing.

halja, hala, n. f. (<hall) - zalja, prymischennja, domivka. Vony na halu

hroši davaly: "They gave money for a hall." The word halja

(hala) is homonymous with the standard Ukrainian word Halja, dim.





of Hanna "Ann," and only in the context is one able to differentiate between them. Almost everywhere in Alberta the Ukrainian Halja is translated into English as "Helen."

hámburgyr, hámbruk, n. m. (< hamburger) - sičene mjaso. Budymo jisty hamburgery, abo hambruky na arcybišyni v Edmontoni: "We shall eat hamburgers at the Edmonton Exhibition." The long word hamburger was changed by the early pioneers to hambruky, but the longer form is now widely used in Alberta.

hámyr, n. m. (< hammer) - molot, molotok. Trymaju toj dryl'i hamyrom bju:

"I hold that drill and hit it with a hammer." Straight borrowing.

Hárri, PN. (< Harry) - Hryhorij, Hryc'. Mij tato nazuvavsi Harri: "My father's name was Harry." Actually, Hryhorij should be translated as "Gregory". Straight borrowing.

hártaták, n. m. (< heart attack) - sercevyj udar, udar sercja. Tam bula odna vdova Pidručna, jakoji colovik pomer na hartatak: "There was a widow named Pidručna, whose husband died of a heart attack." Straight borrowing.

hárttajm, n. m. (< hard time) - kryza. To vže bulo v harttajm, jak my nazvaly "Volyn": "It was during hard times when we named it (the township - A.R.) Volhynia." Straight borrowing. This word was used only when referring to the years of the Depression.

hárvyst, n. m. (< harvest) - žnyva. Tam ja buv jakyx štyry misjaci, a potim pryjšov do Al'berty na harvyst: "I was there for about four months and then I came to Alberta for the harvest." Straight borrowing.

hátdog, n. m. (< hotdog) - rozrizana bulka z kovbaskoju vsередyni. Ja zzjila hatdoga i pišla dodomu. "I ate my hotdog and went home." Straight borrowing. This word is widely used throughout Alberta





because of the absence of any Ukrainian equivalent.

hávskiping rum, n. m. (< housekeeping room) - kimnata z domaš<sup>V</sup>oju

obsluhoju vlasnyka domu. Molodsa divcyna vzjela j zarentovala sobi

hávskiping rum v mis'ci: "The younger girl rented a housekeeping room in the town." Straight borrowing.

havz, n. m. (< house) - dim, xata. Ja xotiv by til'ky havza: "I would only like to have a house." Straight borrowing. Used widely throughout the province.

help, n. m. (< help) - dopomoha, pomič. My v zymi help maly: "We had some help in the winter." Straight borrowing. Used often in Alberta.

helpuváty, v. (< to help) - dopomahaty. Ja til'ky jimu helpuvav, jak hroši pruxodylos<sup>V</sup> pokazuvaty: "I only helped him when we were asked to show the amount of money we had on hand." A combination of the English stem help and the Ukrainian suffix and ending -uvaty.

hólydej, n. m. (< holiday) - vidpustka, vakaciji, vidpočynok, svjata.

Jak my pojixaly byly mynuvšo<sup>V</sup>ho roku do Meksyko na holydej to naši dity hovoryly do nas po-ukrajinski<sup>V</sup> "When we went to Mexico on our holiday last year, our children spoke to us in Ukrainian." Straight borrowing. Used everywhere throughout Alberta.

homstedóvec<sup>V</sup> - n. m. (< homesteader) - A hybrid, with the Ukrainian suffix -ovec<sup>V</sup> substituting for its English counterpart -er.

homstédyr, homstédyr<sup>V</sup>, n. m. (< homesteader) - sadybnyk, pervisnyj hospodar na dykij, nekul'tyvovani<sup>V</sup>j zemli. Mij susid i ja byly tam persymy homstéderamy<sup>V</sup>: "My neighbour and I were the first homesteaders there." Straight borrowing, but the phoneme /s/ was changed in Ukrainian to /s<sup>V</sup>/ in the German manner.

indžynérskyj<sup>V</sup>, adj. m. (< engineering) - inžyners'kyj<sup>V</sup>. Tut indžynerska lajna til'ko ščo prorubana bula<sup>VV</sup>: "The engineering line was only





severed here." A hybrid composed of the English stem engineer- and the suffix -sk- with masculine ending -yj. Used rarely in Alberta.

inglyšmen, n. m. (< Englishman) - anhlijec'. Vin inglyšmen. Pryjixav z Anhliji: "He is an Englishman." "He came from England."

Straight borrowing. Used rarely.

járda, n. f. (< yard, court) - podvirja, obijstja. Dity bavylysi na jardi ta j pobylysi: "The children played in the yard and fought among themselves." The English neuter noun yard was regarded as a feminine noun by the first pioneers; ergo, the feminine ending -a was added.

jes, v. (< yes) - tak. Jes, tam bula halja: "Yes, there was a hall there." Straight borrowing. Used throughout Alberta.

juzuváty, v. (< to use) - vzyvaty, korystuvatysja. To mož juzuvaty jnakšy: "This could be used differently." A hybrid composed of the stem use, and the Ukrainian verbal suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

kaféja, n. f. (< coffee shop) - kavarnja, restorant. Čy ty ljubyš tu žinku v kafeju?: "Do you like that woman in the coffee shop?"

A hybrid composed of the English stem coffee, with the Ukrainian feminine ending -ja.

kajút, n. m. (< coyote) - stepovyj kanads'kyj dykyj pes (sobaka), kojót. Kolo nas kajuty vyly na farmi: "Coyotes howled near our farm."

Straight borrowing.

kanadyján, kanadiján, kanadyjec, kanadijec, n. m. (< Canadian) - kanadec'.

Čy ty je kanadijan? "Are you a Canadian?" The word kanadyján (kanadiján) is a straight borrowing from the English; kanadyjec and kanadijec, however, was formed analogically to avstryjec, avstrijec "Austrian" (the majority of the first Ukrainian settlers in Alberta



came from former Austria-Hungary). Perhaps the Polish word

kanadyjski contributed in the formation of kanadyjskyj.

karpyntérka, n. f. (< carpenter, carpentry) - buduvannja, tesljarstvo. Ja

robyv karpynterku, a na <sup>V</sup>znuva xodyv na <sup>V</sup>treš: "I was doing carpentry work and I also went threshing during harvest time."

A hybrid composed of the English stem carpenter, and the Ukrainian suffix -k- plus the feminine ending -a, i.e.: karpynter + k + a.

katuváty, v. (< to cut, to release from work, to reduce the staff) - zvil'njaty

z praci. Čexy počaly katuvaty včyteliv-ukrajinciv: "The Czechs began to lay off Ukrainian teachers." A hybrid composed of the English stem cut, and the Ukrainian verbal suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

kávboj, n. m. (< cowboy) - čerednyk, pastux (pivnično-amerykansky). Jidemo

na kony, jak toj kavboj: "We ride a horse like that cowboy."

Straight borrowing.

kéksy, n. m. pl. (< cakes) - torty. Cy ty xocyš keksiv? "Do you want some cakes?" Straight borrowing.

kémpa, n. f. (< camp) - tabir, žytlysčē, žytlo. My sy lysyly na druhim

boci benka ryvera, a mydvid' ide do kempy: "We remained on the other bank of the river, and the bear went to the camp." The word camp acquired the feminine ending -a analogically to kolýba "hut, shanty, shepherd's cottage (in the Carpathian highlands)," corresponding, in this instance, to "camp."

kempuváty, v. (< to camp) - taboruvaty, žyty sered pryrody. Vony kempuvaly

i buduvaly bovta: "They were camping and building a boat." A hybrid composed of the English stem camp, the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and ending -ty.







ké<sup>́</sup>ndi, n. m. (< candy) - cukorok. Dedi kupyv myni kendi: "Daddy bought me candy." Straight borrowing.

kenuváty, kynuváty, v. (< to can food) - konservuvaty horodynu i sadovynu.  
Ja kynuju kapustu i ohirky na zymu "I am canning cabbage and cucumbers for the winter." A hybrid composed of the English stem can, and the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

keš<sup>́</sup>, n. m. (< cash) - hotivka hrišmy. Ja dav šist' tysjač kes, a potim uže trokuvav vylykym trokom: "I paid six thousand in cash and then drove a big truck." Straight borrowing.

kičyn<sup>́</sup>, n. m. (< kitchen) - kuxnja. Vony maly til'ky samyj kičyn: "They had only one kitchen." Straight borrowing, but this word is used in both genders, masculine and feminine, with the former predominating.

klinuváty, póklinuvaty, v. (< to clean) - čystyty, zamitaty, myty. Ty musyš poklinuvaty sobi šuzy: "You have to clean your shoes." A hybrid composed of Ukrainian prefix po-, the English stem clean, and the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and ending -ty, i.e., po + clean + uva + ty.

kolektuváty, v. (< to collect) - zbyraty hroši. Ja kolektuvav hroši i davav do storu: "I collected money and gave it to the store." A hybrid composed of the English stem collect, the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

kónar, n. m. (< corner) - rih, bik vulyci. Ščo je tam na konary strita?: "What is there on the corner of the street?" Straight borrowing.

The English phoneme /r/ was generally dropped in Ukrainian before /n/.

konékcija, n. f. (< connection) - zvjazok. Jaka je tut konekcija, to ny znaju: "What the connection is here, I don't know." A hybrid composed of the English stem connec, the Ukrainian suffix -ci- and ending -ja.



konstráksyn, n. f. (<construction) - budivnyča firma. Mij vujko vid

konstráksyn: "My uncle is in the construction business." Straight borrowing.

kóntra, kóntrija, kóntri, n. f. (<country, place, locality) - okolycja,

miscevist'. Cja kontrija nazyvajet'sja 'Volyn': "This place is called 'Volhynia'." This word acquired the feminine ending -ja analogically to the Ukrainian okolycja. Alternatively, another feminine ending -a is added to form a shorter noun kontra. Kontri is a straight borrowing from the English without any change.

kontráktor, n. m. (<contractor) - budivnyčyj. Ja je kontraktor: "I am a contractor." Straight borrowing.

kópyk, n. m. (<cup) - hornjatko, časka. Typer vypjem kopyk kavy j pojidemo do Kolodija: "Now let us drink a cup of coffee and go to Mr. Kolodij's." A hybrid composed of the English stem cup and the Ukrainian diminutive suffix -yk. The English phoneme /ə/ was replaced by the Ukrainian phoneme /o/.

kort, n. m. (<court, cord) - sud, mira drov. My maly kort u misti. Ja narubav kort drov i prodav žydovy na kucky: "We had a court case downtown. I cut a cord of wood and sold it to a Jew who was on his holidays." Straight borrowing.

kovt, n. m. (<coat) - plasc, pal'to. Jak tvij novyj zymovyj kovt? "How is your new winter coat?" Straight borrowing.

kózyn, n. m. (<cousin) - suryn, bratanyč. Kyrijak maje kozyna na Egremonti: "Mr. Kyrijak has a cousin in Egremont." Straight borrowing.

krap, n. m. (<crop) - urožaj. Vs'o umerzalo na poly i krap takoz. Ja mav fajnyj krap pšenyci: "Everything froze in the field--the crop, too. I had a nice crop of wheat." Straight borrowing.







krédyt, n. m. (<credit) - poxvala, pryznannja, vyznačennja, borh. Ja dav by bohato kredytu staromu Pylypivskomu za joho vidvahu: "I would give old Mr. Pylypivsky a lot of credit for his courage." Straight borrowing.

krik, n. m. (<creek) - potik, strumok, rička: Za krikamy na Ksyčuanj zyjut sami ukrajinci: "Only Ukrainians live at Ksituan beyond the creeks." Straight borrowing.

krímsuperéjtor, n. m. (<cream-separator) - separator, viddiljuvač veršktiv vid moloka. Ja mav uže krímsuperejtor udoma na farmi: "I already had a cream-separator at home on my farm. Straight borrowing.

Krísmus, Krísmys, n. m. (<Christmas) - Rizdvo. My maly fajnyj Krísmys seho roku: "We had a very nice Christmas this year." Straight borrowing.

króšyr, n. m. (<crusher) - mlynok dlja melennja zbižžja. Na krošyri pyrypustyv try razy pšenycju i spik xliba: "I let the wheat go through the crusher three times and then baked bread from it." The English phoneme /θ/ was substituted by the Ukrainian /o/.

kúkisy, n. m. pl. (<cookies) - tistečka. Ja nyn'ki spykla kukisy "I baked cookies today." Straight borrowing.

kvódyr, n. m. (<quarter) - čvert', 25 centiv. Vin myni dav kvodyr na kavu. Mama lýsyly myni kvodyr sekciiji zymli: "He gave me a quarter for coffee. Mother left me a quarter-section of land." Straight borrowing, but the cluster /rt/ was replaced in Ukrainian by the phoneme /d/.

kýčok, n. m. (<keg) - bočka pyva. Vony maly kýčok pyva: "They had a keg of beer." This hybrid word has undergone phonemic and morphemic changes: the English phoneme /e/ was replaced by the Ukrainian /y/, /g/ was replaced by /č/, and the Ukrainian diminutive suffix



-ok was added, i.e., ky<sup>V</sup><sub>C</sub> + ok > kyčok.

kyjs, n. m. (<case) - skryn'ka z napojamy. Syn Ivan prodaje v gyrežu

kyjsy, gary, troky: "My son John sells cases, cars, and trucks in the garage." Straight borrowing.

lájna, n. f. (<line) - meža, linija podilu. My meškaly čyryz lajnu vid

nyx: "We lived just across the line from them." The word line

acquired the feminine ending -a analogically to the Ukrainian

linija "line," and meza "borderline."

lájsyns, n. m. (<licence) - dozvil, pozvolennja. Jomu lajsyns vidobraly

na Fort Vermilijoni: "They took his driver's licence away at

Fort Vermilion." Straight borrowing.

léndtájtylófys, n. m. (<land-titles office) - zemel'nyj urjad abo

kanceljarija dlja sadyb. Pryjixaly my do seho Bonyvila na

lendtajtylofys šukaty homštativ: "We came to Bonnyville to the

land-titles office to look for homesteads." Straight borrowing.

lídyr, n. m. (<leader) - providnyk. Tam byly try lidery: "There were

three leaders there." Straight borrowing.

l'júmbyr, lúmbyr, lámbyr, n. m. (<lumber) - došky, budivnyčyj materijal:

My kupyly lumbyr na cerkvu: "We bought lumber for the church."

Straight borrowing.

lo, n. m. n. (<law) - zakon. Take lo vyjšlo, ščo po simdysjatci ny možna

drajvuvaty trokom: "Such a law was implemented whereby a person

older than seventy could not drive a truck." Straight borrowing.

l'óga, n. f., l'og, n. m. (<log) - derevjana koloda. My zbuduvaly xatu

z l'ogiv: "We built a log house." L'og is straight borrowing.

The feminine form l'oga, however, is also used; this form was

created analogically to the Ukrainian koloda.

lójer, n. m. (<lawyer) - advokat. Byl z našoho syla lojer Smuk v Ameryci:







"The lawyer Smuk came from our town in America." Straight borrowing.

lonč, lanč, n. m. (< lunch) - perekuska, obid, poludenok. My zzily lonč

i zнову pišly na robotu: "We ate our lunch and went to work again."

Straight borrowing.

lónčbákša, lánčbákša, n. f. (< lunch box) - bljašanka na obid čy na poludenok.

Zrixtuvaly nam žinky lonč i postavlyly v lončbaksy: "Our wives

prepared our lunches and put them into lunch boxes." Straight

borrowing.

l'ótá, n. f. (< lot of land) - diljanka. Tohdy prodavaly tano l'oty na

Bonyvili: "Lots were inexpensive at Bonnyville at that time."

Straight borrowing.

lovđ, n. m. (< load) - mira, viz, pidvoda. Vin vyze lovđ pšenyci na prodáž:

"He is taking a load of wheat which is for sale." Straight

borrowing.

lúmbyrdžék: n. m. (< lumberjack) - lisorub. Vin buv tam za lumbyrdžeka v

dzulaju; vin tam lumbyr rizav: "He worked there as a lumberjack

in July; he cut lumber." Straight borrowing.

lúmbyrjárda, n. f. (< lumber-yard) - sklad doščok na podvirji.

Dejaki maly robotu v lumbyrjardax, a dejaki v garažax: "Some

worked in the lumber-yards and some in garages." Straight

borrowing.

lyjk, lejk, n. m. (< lake) - ozero. Jix syn Myxajlo zamerz na lyjku:

"Their son Michael froze to death on the lake." Straight borrowing.

lyjn, n. m. (< lane) - vuz'ka doroha, vuzen'kyj proxid, perejizd. Vony

pyryxodyly na druhyj lyjn hajveju: "They moved into the highway's

other lane." Straight borrowing.

maj, n. m. (< May) - traven'. Ja pryjixav do Kanady v maju: "I came to

Canada in May." Straight borrowing from the English (the older



generation has probably taken this word from the Polish maj), or the Austrian-German Mai.

Májkyl, Majk, PN. (<Michael) - Myxajlo. Majkyl kupyv novu garu: "Michael bought a new car." Straight borrowing.

májla, n. f. (<mile) - mylja. Vin farmuje odynacit' majliv zvidsy: "He is farming eleven miles from here." A borrowing, with the addition of the Ukrainian feminine ending -a.

májna, n. f. (<mine) - kopal'nja, saxta. Ja nasampyred robyv v majni: "At first I worked in the mines." A borrowing, with the addition of the Ukrainian feminine ending -a analogically to saxta "mine."

májnyr, n. m. (<miner) - vuhlekop, saxtar. Ja organizuvav majneriv razom: "I organized the miners (organized a miner's union)." Straight borrowing.

máior, n. m. (<mayor) - posadnyk, mer. Vujko majora v Edmontoni takoz nazyvajetsi Vasyl' Havryljak: "The Edmonton mayor's uncle is also called William Hawrelak." Straight borrowing.

markuváty, v. (<to mark) - značyty, vidznačaty na zemli čy na paperi. I tak markuvaly patykom vid konara: "Thus, they were marking with a stock from the corner." A hybrid composed of the English stem mark, and the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

ménédžer, n. m. (<manager) - kerivnyk, hospodar, vidpovidal'na za scos' ljudyna. Mij brat Roman typer menedžerom banku v Edmontoni: "My brother Roman is now manager of a bank in Edmonton." Straight borrowing.

mistýk, mystéjk, n. m. (<mistake) - pomyłka. To buv vylykyj mistyk, sco vony zrobyly: "What they did was a big mistake." Straight borrowing.

mityng, n. m. (<meeting) - viče, zibrannja, sxodyny. My maly mityng na farmax: "We had a meeting on the farm." Straight borrowing.







moskéǵ, máskyǵ, n. m. (< muskeg) - bahno, močary, torfovyj grunt. Tam buly sami moskegi pisky, lisy i homštaty: "Only muskeg, sand, bush, and homesteads were in that place." Straight borrowing.

mufuvátysja, mufuvátysi, v. (< to move) - perejizdžaty, perexodyty na nove misce. Koly ty mufuvavsi do Edmontonu?: "When did you move to Edmonton?" A number of different verbs of motion were created by means of the English stem move and the Ukrainian prefix po- (changing imperfective verbs into perfectives), and the suffix -uva- and ending -ty. The English phoneme /v/ was substituted by /f/ in Ukrainian.

municypál, n. m. (< municipal office) - mis'kyj abo sil's'kyj municypal'nyj, volosnyj čy okružnyj urjad. Naš municypal kupyv novyj gryjdyr na dorohu: "Our municipal office bought a new grader." Straight borrowing.

mus, n. m. (< moose) - amerykans'kyj los'. Žinka vyjšla na benk i zobačyla vylykyj bonč musiv nad ryverom: "My wife came out on the bank and saw a herd of moose near the river." Straight borrowing.

myjnofys, n. m. (< main office) - holovna kanceljarija. My pryjixaly do Ottavy i trafyly na myjnofys i zapysalysi na robotu: "We arrived in Ottawa, went to the main office, and registered for work." Straight borrowing.

mýsyz, n. f. (< Mrs.) - pani. De mýsyz Puxkyj?: "Where is Mrs. Puxkyj?" Straight borrowing. All Ukrainian personal names in -yj (m.) take the ending -a in the feminine.

nejm, n. m. (< name) - imja i prizvyšče. Jak vaš nejm?: "What is your name?" Straight borrowing.

nórsa, n. f. (< nurse) - medyčna sestra, medsestra. Odna moja dočka norsoju, a syn učytylym: "One of my daughters is a nurse, and one



son is a teacher." A borrowing with the feminine ending -a.

novémbyr, n. m. (< November) - lystopad. My pryjixaly na Mixajla na

Rojkroft, na dvacit' peršoho novembra: "We arrived at Rycroft on

St. Michael's Day on the 21st of November." Straight borrowing.

ófis, ófys, n. m. (< office) - kanceljarija. Mij syn maje ofis na Lymonti:

"My son has an office in Lamont." Straight borrowing.

olrájt, okyj, interj. (< alright, okay [O.K.]) - harazd, vse v porjadku.

Vs'o pišlo olrajt (okyj): "Everything went all right (O.K.)."

Straight borrowing.

páblik skul, páblyk skul, n. f. (< public school) - škola.

Moja dytyna distala peršyj prájz u pablyk skul: "My child received the first prize at public school." Straight borrowing.

pájpa, n. f. (< pipe) - rura, truba. Styry patyky postavyv, a na nyx

pajpu i tak žyv: "I put a chimney-pipe on top of four wooden poles and thus I lived." A hybrid composed of the English stem pipe and the Ukrainian feminine ending -a which was added to the English stem-final consonant /p/.

páplja, n. f. (< poplar) - topolja, osyka. Piv papli sokyroju ny dostav,

a ti osyki, to tak jak vijs'ko jde pen'ok v pen'ok: "I did not

chop down half of the poplars, and those aspen-trees grew in a line like soldiers, stump after stump." The word poplar has changed

analogically to the Ukrainian topolja "poplar" or osyka "aspen-tree."

The phoneme /o/ was substituted by the Ukrainian /a/, the sequence -ar by -lja, and the phoneme /r/ was dropped.

pártnyr, n. m. (< partner) - spil'nyk. Mij partnyr vzjev po myni tu

robotu: "My partner took that job after I left." Straight borrowing.







pavnd, n. m. (< pound) - funt. My distaly pavnd xliba na štyry cel'ty:

"We were allotted a pound of bread for every four tents." Straight borrowing.

pějlo, n. n. (< pail) - vidro. Každa kurova davala pejlo moloka: "Each cow gave a pail of milk." A borrowing, with the Ukrainian ending -o.

píkc'jer, n. m. (< picture) - svitlyna, fotohrafija. Tohdy pič'jer braly z nas: "Then they took our pictures." Straight borrowing.

pikuváty, v. (< to pick out) - dovbaty džaganom. Pišov ja pikuvaty kaminčyky v majni: "I went to pick rocks in the mine." This hybrid is composed of the English stem pick, the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and the ending -ty. In the speech of the older generation the phonemes /p/ and /k/ were substituted correspondingly by /b/ and /g/, i.e.,

pikuváty > biguváty.

pinac, n. m. (< peanuts) - zemljanyj horix. Barabolja vyrosła, jak pinac:

"The potatoes grew like peanuts." Straight borrowing, but the English plural noun peanuts became singular in Ukrainian.

pórydž, n. m. (< porridge) - (vivsjana) kaša. V kraju porydžu ny buło:

"There was no porridge in the Old Country [the Ukraine]." Straight borrowing.

prajs, n. m. (< price) - cina. Todi prajs pšenyci pišov buv uhoru: "Then the price of wheat went up." Straight borrowing.

prajz, n. m. (< prize) - nahoroda. Mij syn vyhrav peršyj prajz na eksybišyni: "My son won first prize at the exhibition." Straight borrowing.

prýri, n. f. pl. (< prairies) - lisostep, prerija. V poludnevij Al'berti vsjuda byly pryri: "There was prairie everywhere in southern Alberta." A borrowing, with the loss of the plural allomorph /z/ in Ukrainian.



púlrum, n. m. (< poolroom) - bil'jardna kimmata. Mij čuluvik v pulrumi robyt':

"My husband works in the poolroom." Straight borrowing.

pýrmít, n. m. (< permit) - posvidka, pys'movyj, dozvil, svidoctvo. Kyrijak mav uže

pyrmit učyty v školi: "Mr. Kyrijak had already obtained a permit to teach school." Straight borrowing.

rájda, n. f. (< a ride) - jizda, pidjixaty z kymos' kudys'. Jak Menning

pryjizdžav na Menning, to ja ny mih distaty rajda do mista: "When Mr. Manning came to Manning (a town in northern Alberta), I could not get a ride to town." The English noun ride became feminine in Ukrainian: rajda.

rájfyl', n. m. (< rifle) - rusnycja, kris, gvyntivka. Ja tohdy vzjev rajfyl'

i 'trax' zastrilyv byky: "Then I took the rifle and 'bang'! I killed the oxen." Straight borrowing.

rájttrú, adv. (< right through) - prjamo čerez šcos'. Doroha jde počerez

naše misto rajttru: "The road goes right through our town."

Straight borrowing.

rajzuváty, v. (< to raise) - hoduvaty, vyroščuvaty horodynu na prodaz'.

Rajčeba tu rajzuvav horod: "Mr. Raycheba was raising vegetables here." A hybrid composed of the English stem raise, and the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

rent, n. m. (< rent) - orendna plata, vynajm. My platymo rent za halju:

"We pay rent for the hall." Straight borrowing.

róbury, roburjéta (dim.), n. m. pl. (< rubbers) - kaloši, gumovi čoboty,

gumovyky. Kupyv ja roburjeta dlja dityj: "I bought rubbers for my children."

A borrowing with the Ukrainian plural morpheme /y/ substituting for the English /z/ in rubbers. The diminutive plural noun roburjéta acquired the suffix -jet- and ending -a.





rujnuváty, v. (<to run, operate) - operuvaty, vodyty. Traba bulo rujnuvaty porom, a to ny bulo komu: "We had to operate the ferry, but there was nobody to do it." This hybrid is composed of the English stem run, and the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and ending -ty. The introduction of the Ukrainian phoneme /j/ by some speakers changed the word to the Ukrainian homonym rujnuváty "to destroy, to demolish." The English phoneme /ʌ/ is pronounced [ũ] by Ukrainians, and this confuses two like verbs: to run and "to destroy."

rum, n. m. (<room) - kimnata. Moja žinka ny ljubyt toho ruma: "My wife does not like that room." Straight borrowing.

rydjo, n. n. (<radio) - radio, radiopryjmač. Ja kupyv sobi nove rydjo: "I bought myself a new radio." Straight borrowing.

ryli, n. f. pl. (<rails) - rejka. My musily ryli skladaty: "We had to put the rails together." A borrowing, with the English plural morpheme /z/ replaced by the Ukrainian /i/.

rylif, n. m. (<relief) - dopomoha. Nam davaly rylif u harttajm: "We were given relief during hard times." Straight borrowing.

rynčerváty, rynčéryty, v. (<to ranch) - plekaty xudobu na prodaž. Staryj rynčeryv xudobu i xodyv do majny rubyty: "The old man was a rancher and also worked in a mine." Both verbs were formed from the English stem ranch, and the Ukrainian suffixes -uva-, -ery-, and the ending -ty.

ryver, river, n. m. (<river) - rika. My žyly za ryvyrom na farmi: "We lived beyond the river on a farm." Straight borrowing.

sájdvak, n. m. (<sidewalk) - xidnyk, trotuar. V Edmontoni sajdvoky šče buly z doščok: "At that time the sidewalks in Edmonton were still wooden." Straight borrowing.



saljér, n. m. (<cellar) - pidval, pyvnycja. 'Syny zemli' ležaly v saljeru, a Kyrijak holoduvav i na dorohax robyv: "Sons of the Soil [the novel] was lying in the cellar, while Mr. Kyrijak [the author] went hungry and worked on the highways." Straight borrowing.

Sántaklós, n. m. (<Santa Claus) - svjatyj Mykolaj. Zavtra bude v misti Santaklos, - skazaly dity: "Santa Claus will be in town tomorrow, said the children." Straight borrowing.

sékcija, n. f. (<railway-section) - častyna zaliznyčnoji dorohy. Vin buv za formana na sekciji: "He was a railway section-foreman." Straight borrowing.

séksyn havz, n. m. (<section-house) - budynok dlja zaliznyčnyx robitnykiv blyz'ko stanciji. Ja mav farmu blyz'ko séksyn havzu, aly potim lysyv i tu farmu: "I had a farm near the section-house, but later I abandoned that one, too." Straight borrowing.

sipijár, n. m. (<C. P. R.) - Tyxookeanska kanads'ka zaliznycja. Ukrajinci robyly u sipijara dovhi roky: "Ukrainians worked for the C. P. R. for many years." Straight borrowing of the English abbreviation C. P. R. (Canadian Pacific Railway). The use of the adjective sipijárskyj, sipijárs'kyj is wide-spread throughout Alberta.

skáčmen, n. m. (<Scotchman) - sotljandec', škot. Skáčmeny tež cikavljat'sja ukrajins'koju movoju v Kanadi: "The Scots are also interested in the Ukrainian language spoken in Canada." A borrowing, with the appending of the Ukrainian plural allomorph /y/ to the English phoneme /n/ in men. The adjective skáčmáns'kyj "Scottish" is also heard in Alberta.

skanseljувáty, skanceljuváty, v. (to cancel) - unevažnyty, skasuvaty. Vony skanseljuvaly zemlju svoju: "They cancelled their own land deal." A hybrid composed of the English stem cancel, the Ukrainian





prefix s-, and the suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

skonektuvátysja, skonektuvátysi, v. (<to connect) - spolučytysja, navjazaty telefoničnyj zvjazok. My skonektujemojsja z panstvom Burunamy:

"We will get in touch with Mr. and Mrs. Buruns." A hybrid composed of English stem connect, the Ukrainian prefix s-, and the suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

skul dyvižyn, n. f. (<school division) - škil'na okruha, škil'na administratyvna častyna. My naležymo do susidnoji skul dyvižyn:

"We belong to the neighbouring school division." Straight borrowing.

skvituvátysja, skvituvátysi, v. (<to quit) - zvil'nytysja z praci. Potim my skvituvavysy z ykstra gyngu j pojixaly do Brytyš Koljumbiji:

"Later we left the extra-gang and went to work in British Columbia."

A hybrid composed of the English stem quit, the Ukrainian prefix s-, and the suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

skvyr, adv. (<square) - u kvadrati. Jakyx pjitnacyt' myl' skvyr: "About fifteen square miles." Straight borrowing.

slipíngbéga, n. f. (<sleeping-bag) - spal'nyj pol'ovyj mišok. Zaliz' u svoju slipingbegu i movčy!: "Get into your sleeping bag and keep quiet!" A compound consisting of the English present participle sleeping and the hybridized word béga. (See bega above.)

sóri, adj. (<sorry) - zasmučenyj; vybačennja; vybačte. Mij tato buv sori, koly počuv, ščo car pomer: "My father was sorry when he learned that the Tsar had died." Straight borrowing.

spajluváty, v. (<to pile up) - skladaty, skydaty na kupu. My spajluvaly dva akry zymli rukamy: "By hand, we piled up wood from two acres."

A hybrid composed of the English stem pile, the Ukrainian prefix s-, and suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

speluváty, prospeluváty, v. (<to spell) - čytaty slovo — literu za literuju.



Ja prospyluvav jomu svoje mnje, a vin vse odno ny vmiv joho

napysaty: "I spelled my name for him, and yet he could not write it down correctly." A hybrid composed of the English stem spell, the Ukrainian prefix pro-, and the suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

spic<sup>v</sup>, n. m. (<speech) - dopovid', vyklad, Jak vin mav spic<sup>v</sup> z

Yjbyrhartom todi v misti...: "When he Mr. Manning gave a speech with Mr. Aberhart in town at that time...." Straight borrowing.

strítgara, strítgara, n. f. (<street-car) - tramvaj. Mij kozyn honyt

stritgaru v misti: "My cousin operates a street-car in the city."

This compound word is composed of the English word street and the Ukrainian form gára (see gara above).

strit, strit, n. m. (<street) - vulycja. Ščo je tam na konary strita?:

"What is there on the corner of the street?" Straight borrowing by the younger generation; the older generation changed the initial phoneme /s/ to /š/, possibly under German influence.

stysínja, stysíni, stysín', n. f. (<railway station) - dvirec', stancija.

Cy vy jdete na stysínju popoludni?: "Are you going to the railway-station this afternoon?" This word became feminine, analogically to the Ukrainian stancija. The other two variants are also of the feminine gender in dialectal speech.

stysínnyk, n. m. (<station master) - urjadovec' na stanciji. Toj

stysínnyk ščojno pryjšov na stysín': "That station master had

just arrived at the station." This hybrid neologism is composed of the stem station and the Ukrainian suffixes -n- and -yk.

suspenduváty, v. (<to suspend) - zvil'nyty z praci, zvil'nytysja z praci.

Vony maly gubyrman'sku posadu, aly piznišy jix suspenduvaly z

neji: "They had a governmental position, but later they were

suspended." A hybrid composed of the English stem suspend, and the





Ukrainian suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

sut, n. m. (< suit) - vbrannja, odjah, kostjum. Do kuma zanis suta, a restu prodav: "I took the suit to my god-father and sold the rest." Straight borrowing.

svit, n. m. (< suite) - pomeškannja, kvartyra. Ja maju novyj svit na rent: "I have a new suite for rent." Straight borrowing.

syptémbyr, n. m. (< September) - veresen'. Ja pryjixav do Edmontonu v syptembri: "I came to Edmonton in September." Straight borrowing.

sykción, n. m. (< section-man) - ljudyna, jaka pracjuje na zaliznyci. My, sykciony, musily duzy tjesko robyty v krizu: "We, the section men, had to work very hard during the economic crisis." Straight borrowing.

sýti, n. n. (< city) - misto. Ja roblju v sytoho vže pjat' rokiv: "I have worked for the city these five years." A straight transfer, but this word is declined like an adjective in Ukrainian.

šápa, n. f. (< shop) - robitnja, majsternja. Vin maje šapu na konary mista: "He has a shop at the edge of town." A hybrid word, consisting of the English stem shop and Ukrainian feminine ending -a.

šek, šecok, n. m. (< shack) - buda, xatynka. Nydaleko vid nas stojav oden vylykyj šek i malen'kyj šecok pry dorozji: "A big shack and a little shack stood by the road, not far from our place." The first variant is a straight transfer from the English, but the second is composed of the stem shack, and the Ukrainian diminutive suffix -ok.

štof, n. m. (< stuff) - materijal, xarci, postačannja, dostava. Ja rozvožuvav štof u mistečku Lymonti: "I was delivering the stuff in the town of Lamont." Borrowing, with the English phonemes /s/





and /ə/ replaced by the Ukrainian /<sup>V</sup>s/ and /o/. The change of /s/ to /<sup>V</sup>s/ is probably the result of German influence.

<sup>V</sup>stor, <sup>V</sup>stóryk (dim.), n. m. (< store) - kramnycja. Nykolaj Vyren<sup>o</sup>ka mav malen<sup>o</sup>koho <sup>V</sup>storyka vid nas na poludny, a tato maly vylykoho <sup>V</sup>stora v misti: "Mr. Nicholas Veren<sup>o</sup>ka had a small store to the south of us, and my father had a big store in town." The first variant is a straight transfer. The second is composed of the stem store and the Ukrainian diminutive suffix -yk.

<sup>V</sup>stórnyk, n. m. (< storekeeper) - kramar. Na Bylis <sup>VV</sup>sce <sup>V</sup>zyv tohdy <sup>V</sup>stornyk Bill Dančuk: "Bill Danchuk, the storekeeper, still lived in Bellis at that time." A Ukrainian Canadian neologism consisting of the stem store and the Ukrainian suffixes -n- and -yk. Here the English phoneme /s/ was replaced by the Ukrainian /<sup>V</sup>s/.

<sup>V</sup>stúka, n. f. (< stook) - desjatka snopiv u kupi. Os<sup>o</sup> tam stojat <sup>V</sup>stuki pšenyci na farmi: "See, over there stand stooks of wheat on the farm land." Borrowing analogically to the Ukrainian homonymous feminine noun stuka "piece, craft, artifice."

<sup>V</sup>stukuváty, v. (< to stook) - skladaty snopy v desjatky: Ja vže raz <sup>V</sup>stukuvav u toho nimci: "I already stooked once for that German farmer ." A hybrid composed of the stem stook, and the Ukrainian verbal suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

<sup>V</sup>Stýcy, GN. (< United States) - Spolučeni <sup>V</sup>Staty Ameryky, <sup>V</sup>Ameryka. Z našoho syla buv učenyj lojer u <sup>V</sup>Stycax "There was a lawyer from our village in the United States." A hybrid word with the English phoneme /s/ replaced by the Ukrainian /<sup>V</sup>s/ before /t/; the English plural ending was correspondingly replaced by the Ukrainian phoneme /c/ followed by the plural allomorph /-y/.





śur, ś'ur, adv. (< sure) - napevno, spravdi. Ja vže śur buv tut: "Surely,

I was here already." Straight borrowing.

śvic, n. m. (< switch) - zaliznyčna strilka. Mij śolovik vtvorjav i

i zamykav śvic na styśinju: "My husband opened and closed the (train) switch at the railway-station." Borrowing, with the English phoneme /s/ replaced by the Ukrainian /ś/.

śýxta, śífta, śíxta, śýfta, n. f. (< shift) - zmina. Ja robyv na ničnu

śyxtu i na svojim borti i rumi: "I worked on the night-shift and had to pay my own board and room." A hybrid composed of the stem shift and Ukrainian feminine ending -a. The phonemes /i/ and /f/ changed according to the age and the degree of bilingualism of the speakers: younger people normally say śífta, while the older people say śíxta.

tájza, n. f. (< railway-ties) - śpala, derevjani pidklady na zaliznyci.

Zarobyv troxa na tajzax i pojixav do Staroho Kraju: "I made some money working with railway-ties and went to the Old Country /the Ukraine/" The word ties (pl.) was probably interpreted by the first Ukrainian railroaders as a feminine unit of two or more ties (carried on their shoulders), and therefore the feminine ending -a was added to the plural ties, i.e., ties + a > tajza.

ténka, n. f. (< water-tank) - bak, zbirnyk na vodu, rezervuar z vodoju.

Kolo tenky buv malen'kyj śtoryk: "A little store was situated near the water-tank." A hybrid composed of the stem tank and the Ukrainian feminine ending -a.

tep, n. m. (< water-tap) - kran, zakrutka. Tepy my si popsuvaly i mini si

likuje pid synkom: "The taps were not working properly, and it leaked under the sink." Straight borrowing.

trábyl n. m. (< trouble) - nespokij, klopit, turboty. Ja ny mav trablju



v Kanadi, bo ja jixav tjaharovov šifov: "I had no trouble in Canada for I came here by freighter." Straight borrowing.

tres<sup>V</sup>, n. m. (<threshing) - molot'ba. Na žnyva ja xodyv na tres<sup>V</sup>  
tresóvanje, n. n. do druhyx ljudyj, a potim samyj najmav do seby na tresóvanje čužyx  
ljudyj: "During the harvest, I threshed for other people, and then  
 I hired people to thresh for me." The first word is a straight  
 transfer; the second is composed of the stem thresh, the Ukrainian  
 nominal suffix -ovan- and ending -je.

trok, n. m. (<truck) - vantažnyj samoxid, vantažna avtomašyna, vantažne avto.  
Mij syn maje novyj trok: "My son has a new truck." Straight  
 borrowing.

trókdrajvyr, n. m. (<truck-driver) - vodij vantažnoho avta. Ja buv pers<sup>V</sup>ym  
trokdrajvyrom na Mondyri: "I was the first truck-driver in Mundare."  
 Straight borrowing.

trokuváty, v. (<to truck) - perevozyty vantažnym avtom. Cina za trokovanje  
stala tana. Ja dvacit' rokiv trokuvav na Mondyri: "A trucker's  
 pay became low. I drove a truck for twenty years around Mundare."  
 A hybrid composed of English stem truck, the Ukrainian suffix -uva-  
 and ending -ty. Analogically, the verbal noun trokóvanje "trucking"  
 was also formed.

tryka, n. m. (<railway track) - zaliznycja, zaliznyčna doroha. Sjuda  
tryka pryjšla v dvacit' druhim roci: "The railway was built to  
 this place in 1922." A hybrid composed of the stem track and the  
 Ukrainian feminine ending -a analogically to the word zaliznycja  
 "railway track."

tryn, n. m. (<train) - pojizd, potjah. Ty maješ jixaty trynom do Toronta:  
 "You have to go by train to Toronto," Straight borrowing.





tryp, trip, n. m. (<trip) - pojizdka. Jiho tryp z Dramheler do Moskvy  
ny vdavsi: "His trip from Drumheller to Moscow was unsuccessful."  
 Straight borrowing.

tul's, n. m. pl. (<tools) - instrumenty, pryladdja. Tohdy ja pojixav do  
Edmontonu za tul'som <sup>V</sup>sukaty: "Then I went to Edmonton to look  
 for tools." Straight borrowing.

tyket, n. m. (<ticket) - kvytok. Ja pislav jomu tyket do Styjtiv: "I  
 sent him a ticket to the United States." Straight borrowing.

tylyvižyn, n. m. (<television, television station) - telebačennja. V Edmontoni  
je tylyvižyn styjsyn: "There is a television station in Edmonton."  
 Straight borrowing.

usytluváty, v. (<to settle in) - osistysja, poselytysja. Vony vže pyryt  
tym tut si usytluvaly "Earlier they had already settled down here."  
 A hybrid composed of the English word settle, and the Ukrainian  
 verbal suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

várniš, n. m. (<varnish) - polysk, lysk, lak, gljans, blysk. Varniš  
buv nedobryj: "The varnish was no good." Straight borrowing.  
 This word is used throughout Alberta.

varnišovanyj, p. p. p. (<varnished) - polakovanyj: prykrytyj lakom,  
pomalovanyj zverxu lakom: U nas je varnišovani dveri v xati:  
 "We have varnished doors in our house." A hybrid composed of  
 the English stem varnish, the Ukrainian suffix -ovan- and ending  
-yj.

vékjum klíjnyr, n. m. (<vacuum cleaner) - pylosos, pylosmok. Ja kupyla sobi  
včera vekjum klíjnyr: "Yesterday I bought myself a vacuum cleaner."  
 Straight borrowing. This is widely used throughout Alberta.

vel, interj. (<well) - nu!, nu, a dali ščo?. Vel, vony ny majut čoho  
stydatysi. To ny dobra rič <sup>V</sup>: "Well, they have no reason to be



ashamed. It's not a good thing." Straight borrowing of a word used throughout the province without exception.

vyjterka, n. f. (< waitress) - oficijantka. Čy ty lju<sup>v</sup>byš tu vyjterku v kafeju?: "Do you like that waitress in the restaurant?" A combination of the English stem waiter and the Ukrainian feminine suffix -k- and ending -a.

výrhavz, n. m. (< warehouse) - mahazyn z tovaramy, sklad materijaliv. Ja budu robyv na vyrhavz "I shall work in a warehouse." This expression was used by an eleven-year-old boy who has already lost the feeling of the Ukrainian language; this can be seen from his use of the preposition na "on" instead of the correct v "in," and from his omitting the inflectional ending -i. Straight borrowing.

ýkstra, adv. (< extra) - dodatkovy, okremo, osoblyvy, ponad prohramovy, ponad miru. Ja včy<sup>v</sup>v ukrajin'skoji movy ykstra do pjatoji hodyny: "I taught Ukrainian as an extra subject until five o'clock." Straight borrowing. Used throughout the province.

ymplojmynt ofys, n. m. (< employment office) - urjad praci, bjuro praci: Idit na ymploymynt ofys, tam mo<sup>v</sup>že znajdete robotu: "Go to the employment office; maybe you will find work there." Straight borrowing. Used throughout Alberta.

yndžáj, indžáj, n. m. (< engine) - motor. My čystyly yndžaji po štorax: "We cleaned the engines in the stores." A hybrid which underwent phonemic changes: the English phoneme /e/ was substituted by the Ukrainian /y/ or /i/; the English /i/ was dropped; and the accent moved to the last syllable.

ypartámynt, ypártmynt, n. m. (< apartment) - meškal'na kvartyra, pomeškannja, kamenycja. Moja žinka ny lju<sup>v</sup>byt toho ypartamentu: "My wife does





not like that apartment." Straight borrowing. Used everywhere throughout Alberta.

zafajlúvátý, v. (< to file) - vyrobyty dokumenty na kupivl'ju zemli.

Jak ja vže zafajlúvav toj homštat i podyvyvsi na neho jakyj vin, to tohdy znovu pojixav na robotu: "As soon as I concluded a contract for the homestead and had a look at it, I left again for work." A hybrid composed of the Ukrainian prefix za-, the English stem file, and the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and ending -ty. Used throughout Alberta, especially on farms.

zahajruvátý, v. (< to hire) - najnjaty. Zahajruvalysmo ponad sto farmariv:

"We hired well over one hundred farmers." A hybrid composed of the Ukrainian perfective prefix za- (see above), the English stem hire, and the Ukrainian formative suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

zamorgicúvátý, v. (< mortgage) - zastavyty, ručytysja. Zamorgicuj farmu i včy dityj: "Mortgage your farm and teach your children (study)."

This imperative form is a hybrid consisting of the Ukrainian perfective prefix za-, the English stem mortgage, and the Ukrainian verbal suffix -uva-/ -uj-. Phonologically, the final English phoneme /dʒ/ was replaced in Ukrainian by /č/.

zaryntuvátý, zarentuvátý, v. (< to rent out, lease) - vynaajmyty, vynaajnjaty,

davaty v čynš. My zaryntuvaly sobi piv sekcyji zemli: "We leased a one-half section of land for ourselves." A hybrid composed of the Ukrainian prefix za-, the English stem rent, and the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

zarykorduvátý, v. (< to record) - zapysaty na zvukozapysuval'nu stricku

cyjs' holos, zarejestrúvaty, zapysaty. Myne zarykorduvaly na tyjp:

"They recorded me on tape." A hybrid composed of the Ukrainian prefix za-, the English stem record, and the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and



ending - ty.

zasajfuváty, zasyjfuваты, v. (<to save) - zaošcadyty. Ja buv xytryj i

hroši zasajfuvav tym sposobom, ščo zašyv jix u svytu: "I was cunning and saved the money by sewing it in a homespun cloak."

This hybrid derivative consists of the Ukrainian prefix za-

(denoting the completion of an action--the perfective aspect of

a verb), the English stem save, the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and

the ending -ty. The English phoneme /v/ was replaced in Ukrainian by /f/.

zbrošuváty, v. (<to brush) - zrubaty vsi kušci, dereva. Toj kvodyr na

Hočkis ja zbrošuvav i zorav: "I cleared and ploughed that quarter of land at Hotchkiss." A hybrid composed of the Ukrainian

prefix z- (denoting a completed action), the English stem brush,

and the Ukrainian formative suffix -uva- and ending -ty. Used

throughout the province.

zbrukuváty, v. (<to break, broken) - pidnjaty cilynu. Zbrukuvav ja

dvacit' akryv i postavyv xatu na tim brukovanju: "I broke

(ploughed up) twenty acres and built a house on that broken

piece of land." A hybrid composed of the Ukrainian prefix z-,

the English stem break, and the Ukrainian suffix -uva- and ending

-ty.

zlajnuваты, v. (<to line up) - podaty točni informaciji pro kohos' abo

šcos, postavyty v liniju, uporjadkuvaty. Ja vam zlajnuju ce pizniše:

"I shall line this up for you later." A hybrid composed of the

Ukrainian prefix z-, the English stem line, and the Ukrainian suffix

-uva- and ending -ty.

zmistuváty, v. (<to miss, to go astray) - zbludyty, sxybyty, zjixaty z

dorohy. Naš bovt zmistuvav dorohu: "Our boat went astray." This

hybrid is composed of the English stem miss, the Ukrainian prefix





z-, and the verbal suffix -uva- and ending -ty.

The above analysis of English loan-words in Alberta Ukrainian shows the following approximations in distribution: 80.7% nouns, 13.6% verbs, 3.2% adjectives, 1.3% adverbs, .9% interjections, and .3% adverbial phrases. However, the total stock of English loan-words in Alberta Ukrainian greatly exceeds the number cited in this study and a more comprehensive treatment of the subject is needed. In borrowing, Ukrainians have followed the over-all pattern peculiar to immigrants of all other nationalities settling on this continent. Einar Haugen, for example, gives the figure 75.5% for borrowed English nouns in American Norwegian with the following distribution: 18.4% verbs, 3.4% adjectives, 1.2% adverbs-prepositions and 1.4% interjections.<sup>11</sup> No English conjunctions or pronouns were assimilated into the immigrant languages in the United States according to the studies made by Haugen and other scholars.

The classes of vocabulary are distributed among more than twenty lexical domains, and practically every sphere that Ukrainians entered exerted its influence on Ukrainian, as the following list of domains indicates: calendar months, measurements, farming implements, tools, names of the British peoples, geographical names, personal names, sport and entertainment, means of communication, foods, clothing, construction, tourism, physical environment, lumbering and mining, flora and fauna, civil administration at all three levels, education, ranching, gardening, technical-scientific terms, medical terms, military terms, and literary terms.

---

<sup>11</sup> Einar Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," Language, XXVI, 1950, p. 224.



Borrowing is defined as a process, and not a state, of "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another."<sup>12</sup>

This process involves a comparison of the original pattern with its imitation.<sup>13</sup> The original pattern is called the model and the loan may be more or less similar to it, but may also vary all the way from being recognizable by a native speaker of the model language to occurring in such a form as he would not be able to recognize it at all. If the loan is similar enough to the model that a native speaker would accept as his own, the borrowing speaker would be said to have imported the model into his language, but insofar as he has reproduced it inadequately, he has normally substituted a similar pattern from his own language.<sup>14</sup> Loan-word phonology includes substitution of native sounds to imitate a foreign one, and when complete substitution takes place one hears "a foreign accent." An Alberta Ukrainian speaker who tries to reproduce English window will often come up with vindow; thus, although importing the whole form with its meaning, he has substituted his own Ukrainian phoneme /v/ as the English phoneme /w/ has almost no equivalent in the Ukrainian language. This and other kinds of speech habits have evolved, and it is said that the bilingual speakers by this first substitution have carried on an operation of comparative linguistics.<sup>14a</sup> This substitution could also apply to elements of inflection, word formation, and assignment of the gender and syntax.

The distinction between importation and substitution probably corresponds to mental operations which are not yet understood.

---

<sup>12</sup> Einar Haugen, op. cit., pp. 212 - 213.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14a</sup> Ibid., p. 213.





The classification of borrowed patterns differentiates between "loan-words," "hybrids," "loan translations," and "semantic loans."

Loan-words may include practically any of the other categories, but actually they show morphemic importation without substitution, e.g., ṽstrit (<street).<sup>15</sup>

"Any morphemic importation can be further classified according to the degree of its phonemic substitution: none, partial, or complete."<sup>16</sup>

Hybrids (loan blends) show morphemic substitution and importation.<sup>17</sup> Here, only a part of the phonemic shape of the word has been imported, while a native portion has been substituted for the rest. The Alberta Ukrainian has adopted English grandchildren as grandd'ity (a sporadic case), in which the morpheme grand has been imported, but the native d'ity has been substituted for children.

Loan-shifts show morphemic substitution without importation.<sup>18</sup>

These also include "loan translations" and "semantic loans," e.g., Holúbyne ózero "Pidgeon Lake," staryj kraj "old country"; "semantic loans": ljubyty "to like, to love" and podóbatysja "to please somebody or something." The word ljubyty means in Alberta Ukrainian "to like," and "to please" somebody.

Mechanisms of lexical interference divide adaptations into simple words and compound words and phrases, each possessing three types. Simple (non-compound) lexical elements include outright transfer of the phonemic sequences from one language to another. Simple words include also compounds and interjections that are transferred in unanalyzed form.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Haugen, op. cit., p. 214.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Weinreich, op. cit., p. 47.



Interjections of the type datsoľ "that's all," vatsumérija "what's the matter," sánamagán "son of a gun!" are included here, too.

The second type of interference involves the extended use of a native word of the influenced language in conformity with a foreign model.

If two languages have semantemes, or units of content, which are partly similar, the interference consists in the identification and adjustment of the semantemes to fuller congruence.<sup>20</sup>

In Ukrainian, the semanteme represented by pidlóha was originally restricted to "floor of a room," but through the interference of English, pidlóha has been extended in Alberta Ukrainian to represent all "floors" and "stories" inside a building, e.g., pérša pidlóha "first floor," drúha pidlóha "second floor," whereas in standard Ukrainian the forms párter "ground-floor or main floor," péršyj póverx "first storey," drúhyj póverx "second storey," etc., occur.

Finally, another lexical interference occurs when the grapheme is substituted in transliteration by a similar one, but this has no effect on the actual meaning of the word,"<sup>21</sup> e.g., when Ukrainian Havrylják becomes Háwrelak [hóřělák] or televízija "television" becomes televížyn.

Three types of interference are possible for multiple lexical units consisting of more than one morpheme. First, all the elements may be transferred in analyzed form,<sup>22</sup> e.g., vysóka škóla "high school" on the model of English.

Second, reproduction in terms of equivalent native words can be carried out with compound phrases and even proverbs.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup>Weinreich, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.





Although English "skyscraper" served more or less as an exact model for the German Wólkenkrátzer, Ukrainian had followed the latter model by creating xmarodér, xmaročós, xmarosjáh.

"Loan translations" have been subdivided as follows:

(a). Loan translations proper, in which the model is reproduced exactly, element by element,<sup>24</sup> e.g., Ty xóceš máty obíd? "Do you want to have dinner?", búty dva róky starým "to be two years old."

(b). Loan renditions, in which the model compound only furnishes a general hint for the reproduction,<sup>25</sup> e.g., pivóstriv after Latin paen-insula, i.e., "almost-island," etc.

(c). Loan creations, a term applied to new coinages which are stimulated not by cultural innovations, but by the need to match designations available in a language in contact,<sup>26</sup> e.g., rumúnka (adj.) in a sentence Voná rumúnka "She is a Romanian." The correct name should be rumúnka "a Romanian woman," but it was created on the model of the English Romanian where both adjective and noun are identical.

The third type of interference in compound lexical units involves the transfer of some elements and reproduction of others,<sup>27</sup> e.g., the so-called hybrid compounds dvo- rum -ov + yj, try- rum -ov + yj (svit) "two-room suite," "three-room suite," where the English stem room has been transferred and the Ukrainian affixes reproduced.

<sup>24</sup> Weinreich, op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.



## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

The problems connected with the influence of one language on another and the resulting interlingual borrowings have played an important role in the discussions of linguistic science.<sup>1</sup> Linguistic terms, their explanations and hypotheses on bilingualism and the behavior of bilingual speakers have helped to explain the processes that have operated in the distant past as at the present time.<sup>2</sup>

This conclusion will summarize these interlingual processes as observed in practice and in theory.

The history of Ukrainian settlements in Alberta began at the end of the nineteenth century with the arrival of the first immigrants from the Carpatho-Ukraine who arrived in the coalmining districts of Lethbridge, Coleman, Frank, and Canmore, via the United States and brought with them the Transcarpathian Lemkish dialect containing many archaisms. They were shortly followed by Ukrainian peasants from the regions of Galicia, Bukovina, and Nadsiania, the majority of whom settled in the districts north and southwest of Edmonton; they brought with them the so-called Pokutian-Northern Bukovinian and Nadsianian (Hadayivsky) dialects.

During the years 1920-1939 immigrants from Galicia, Nadsiania, Volhynia, and the Kholm and Lemko Districts settled in the vicinity of

---

<sup>1</sup>Einar Haugen, "Problems of Bilingualism," Lingua II, No. 1 (August, 1949), 271.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.





Bonnyville and Athabasca and in the Peace River District of Alberta as far as Fort Vermilion. These immigrants used their own peculiar dialects, especially the Volhynian, much like the standard Ukrainian.

After World War Two, the augmented and mixed immigration, representing a balance of all Ukrainian dialects and social strata, completed the picture, thus producing an interdialectal speech mixed with standard Ukrainian.

All these dialects were brought from the Motherland, which shared different fates: prior to 1917 and 1918 it was under the governments of Tsarist Russia and Austria-Hungary; then parts of it were ruled by Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia; during the Second World War it fell under German occupation; and from 1919 to 1941 - 42, and from 1944 to the present time it has been a republic of the Soviet Union in part or in its entirety. The dominant languages have left their mark in the vocabulary, syntax, and phraseology of Ukrainian.

The Russian, Polish, Czech, and the Slovak and Belorussian words entered the Ukrainian language without many grammatical changes except in phonology and stress, and these were modified by Ukrainian speakers, e.g., Polish nasality, Russian and Belorussian akanie, and the Czech and Slovak accentuation on the first syllable. This again depended largely on the speaker's degree of bilingualism and other factors.

Terms and words borrowed from the German, Hungarian, and Romanian languages involved new difficulties and adjustments. The majority of words borrowed from these languages were assimilated in Ukrainian structurally, i.e., phonemically, and morphologically.

In Ukrainian the German front rounded vowels ä, ö, ü became e, e, and i or ju respectively.

a > e: Mädchen > médxen "girl" (for illustration - A.R.)

ö > e: Köln > Kel'n "Cologne,"

ü i, ju: Hülse > híl'za "pod, husk"; München > Mínxen [standard: Mjúnxen] "Munich."



Double consonants and vowels were reduced to single vowels and consonants, e.g., Überrock > oborok "frock-coat." Long vowels were rendered in Ukrainian as short, e.g., Waage > vaha "weight-scale," with the substitution of the final -e by the Ukrainian feminine ending -a. Adjectives acquired Ukrainian adjectival endings: -yj (m.), -a (f.), -e (n.), e.g., šparuvátyj (< špar + uvat + yj) "thrifty." Adverbs acquired -o, e.g., fein > fájno "nicely." German verbs adopted Ukrainian prefixes, suffixes, and endings, e.g., zrixtuváty (< anrichten: z + rixt + uva + ty) "to prepare, to repair, to fix," šparuváty (< sparen: špar + uva + ty) "to save." German nouns with the ending -ung acquired the Ukrainian suffix -ok, e.g., Stellung > styljúnok "military position." The resulting unstressed /e/ was then pronounced as /y/ in nominal Ukrainian.

The Hungarian final syllables -i and -ya were replaced in Ukrainian by the suffix -yc plus the ending -ja as in tengerýcja (< tenger(i) + yc + ja) "corn," and in gatyagáti "linen pants." Words ending in -a were borrowed without any change, e.g., pípa "pipe."

Approximately a dozen Ukrainian immigrants from the central Ukraine came to Alberta from 1910 - 1914 via Austria-Hungary and settled northeast of Edmonton (Radway, Waskatenau) and in the Glendon district. These families had become integrated with western Ukrainians and had acquired linguistic features peculiar to the majority of the settlers. Living among them, they ceased using the numeral devjanósto "ninety", and preferred the form dévjat'desját'.

Ukrainian dialects in Alberta can be divided into three groups: the pure dialects, i.e., enclavic, which preserve their system intact







(except for English loan-words).<sup>3</sup> The Transcarpathian Lemkish<sup>4</sup> dialect is found in Lethbridge, the Hadyivs'ky dialect in Calmar, Thorsby, Hay Lakes, Round Hill, Radway, Eldorena, Redwater (southwest and northeast of Edmonton) and the Lemkish dialect at Rossington (northwest of Edmonton). In large settlements like Lethbridge and in the metropolitan areas of Edmonton and Calgary two types of dialects have evolved and co-exist.<sup>5</sup> One is an interdialectal koine reflecting (an irregular, unsystematic) development of several dialectal characteristics. These dialects are under pressure from the literary language and tend towards the literary standard norm.<sup>6</sup> Symbiotic or co-existing dialects are to be found in the larger settlements where people have come from several dialectal milieux and had largely preserved their original dialectal systems little influenced by other co-existing dialects<sup>7</sup> (e.g., Edmonton and the Smoky Lake District).

Phonological changes occurred as a result of the appearance of the young generation of Ukrainian-Canadians born in Canada.<sup>8</sup> This generation has identified the dorsally palatalized s' - z' with the š' - ž' type: e.g., jak s'ja majete? with jak š'ja majete? "How do you do?", mij tato vz'jav with mij tato vž'jav "My father took."<sup>9</sup> Therefore, the pronunciation

<sup>3</sup> J. B. Rudnyćkyj, "Ukrainian Literary Language and Dialects in Diaspora," Orbis, XI (1962), p. 492.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 493.

<sup>7</sup> Rudnyćkyj, op. cit., p. 492

<sup>8</sup> J. B. Rudnyćkyj, "Phonologic Innovations in Canadian Ukrainian" (Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Helsinki, 1961), (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1962), pp. 753-754.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 754.





of c'ac'a changed to c'ac'a, sist' to s'is'c "six", sim to s'im "seven", vsi to vsi "all", c'ja to c'ja, volossja to volos'ja "hair".<sup>10</sup> The lack of an English counterpart to the Ukrainian phoneme /x/ necessitated the substitution of this phoneme for the English /tʃ/ and /k/, e.g., Xabá became Cába, Xabúrs'kyj=Cabúrskyj, Txir=Cir, Duxmíns'ky became Dacmínsky, Hryc'kó became Hrájko. In all the above examples, the palatalized Ukrainian adjectival suffix -s'kyj was depalatalized. The extreme sybilization could be explained by the remnants of Polish influence.

The majority of English inanimate nouns are neuter except those that represent animate beings such as "man" (masculine) and "woman" (feminine). English nouns, adjectives, numerals and other parts of speech lack inflections, declensions, and agreements. This has influenced Ukrainian grammatical expression, especially in the third generation, so that geographical names were not declined; thus one encounters such expressions as: Ja buv v Edmonton instead of Ja buv v Edmontoni, "I have been to Edmonton", Ja pryjixav z Edmonton rather than Ja pryjixav z Edmontonu, "I came from Edmonton". Another feature noted is the use of the nominative case as the vocative, e.g., Ivan, xody sjudy! instead of Ivane, xody sjudy! "John, come here!" Confusion in the use of the prepositions z and vid "from, of, since" also results. This is perhaps the most evident error observed in the province, e.g., Ja pryjixav vid Edmonton instead of Ja pryjixav z Edmontonu. The former implies that the person just reached the outskirts of Edmonton, while the latter means that the person entered the city proper.

English idiomatic expressions are also translated literally into Ukrainian. "I am short of money": Meni korotko hrošej; "I am twenty years

---

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.





old": Ja je dvadcjat' rokiv staryj; "I am tired of this place": Ja je zmučenyj cym miscem; "I like Canada": Ja ljublju Kanadu; "I keep the store": Ja trymaju kramnycju. Such literal translations represent deviations from the standard Ukrainian. The idiomatic Ukrainian expressions should be: Meni ne vystačaje hrošej; Meni dvadcjat' rokiv; Meni nadokučylo ce misce; Meni podobajet'sja Kanada; Ja maju kramnycju. [The literal English translations of these expressions are: "I am lacking the sufficient amount of money"; "It is twenty years to me"; "I am bored of this place"; "Canada pleases me"; and "I own the store" ].

Ukrainian personal names are almost always Anglicized. Thus, Taras becomes Terrence or Terry, Vasyl' becomes Basil or Bill, Bohdan > Bob, Volodymyr > Walter, Jevdokija > Dee, and Oksana > Sandra. Such English personal names as Joy, Victoria and Dwayne have no equivalent in Ukrainian and are transferred therefore directly into the Ukrainian speech.

The unstressed /e/ in the Ukraine is pronounced as /y/. Thus, seló is heard as sylo' "village". This change in the unstressed vowel phoneme has been adopted into Alberta Ukrainian, e.g., blánket is heard as blénkyt, fármer as fármr, etc.

The names of many items with which a Ukrainian pioneer was unfamiliar at home, and other words that he had to use in his daily communication with the English-speaking Albertans were borrowed outright, or incorporated into the Ukrainian inflectional system. This transfer was often accompanied by a change in gender. The nouns which had corresponding Ukrainian feminine equivalents were given feminine endings -a, -ja, e.g., dréska "dress", hálja, hála "hall", bučárnja "butcher's shop", etc. Nouns ending in a consonant in English were given masculine gender, e.g.,



strit, strit "street", píkč'yr "picture", meč, méčyk (dim.) "match" (for making fire). Some English masculine nouns ending in a consonant in the plural (in a vowel in singular) were considered as singular in Ukrainian, e.g., odén bojs "one boy" and in the plural, the Ukrainian plural ending -y was added, e.g., dva bójsy "two boys". Peanuts, however, is considered singular as in odén pínac, the Ukrainian plural becoming pínacy. Collective nouns were given plural endings. Thus furniture became fórniči, which is equivalent to "pieces of furniture", but kéndi "candy" is declined as a plural noun because its ending is the typical plural ending of Ukrainian nouns.

Diminutive nouns are formed in Alberta Ukrainian by adding the suffixes -čyk, or -syk, e.g., méčyk "a small match", bójsyk "a little boy", and augmentatives are formed by adding -ysče, e.g. boysysče "a big boy".

Abstract nouns are formed as in the standard Ukrainian by adding the suffix -stv + o, e.g., farmárstvo "farming". Infinitives denoting iterative action are formed by adding Ukrainian prefixes, suffixes and endings, e.g., pofiksuváty "to fix completely", i.e., po + fix + uva + ty. Those infinitives denoting incomplete action are formed by adding the suffix -uva- and the ending -ty to the English stem, e.g., clean + uva + ty > klinuvaty "to clean."

English adjectives are not easily borrowed into Alberta Ukrainian because their endings do not denote number and gender. New adjectives are created by adding the suffixes -sk, -ersk, -ivsk + yj, or -ov + yj e.g., farmárskyj or farmérskyj "farmer," majnérskyj "miner," karpentérskyj "carpenter," bomérskyj or bomívskyj "of a character of a 'bum'," syłkóvyj "made of silk." The adjectival suffixes in the above examples are depalatilized, i.e., -sk- instead of the expected -s'k-.







The adjectival suffixes in the above examples were depalatized under the influence of English.

English nouns ending in -y remain unchanged, e.g., sýti "city". Because of its ending, sýti is declined like an adjective and its gender is neuter analogically to the Ukrainian noun místo, meaning "city."

The Alberta Ukrainian uses possessive pronouns excessively in phrases and sentences where they could be omitted, e.g., Vin kúryt svojú ljúl'ku: "he is smoking his pipe", Vin deržýt svojí rúky v svojíj kyšéní: "He is holding his hands in his pocket." The possessives svojú and svojí are usually omitted in standard Ukrainian. This suggests a question in the first example: "Whose pipe do you expect him to smoke if not his own?" The second example does not exclude the possibility that his hands are in someone else's pocket.

Alberta Ukrainians created many neologisms, haplologisms, phrases and idioms which could be called Ukrainian Alberta-isms such as: bylísky (adj.) from the town of Bellis, Ukáлта (< Uk(rajina) + Alta) the village in the province, Vosétna from the town of Waskatenau, and the loan-word verb fiksuváty was abbreviated to fíksaty.<sup>11</sup>

Ukrainians were the first Slavs to settle in the province of Alberta and now constitute eight percent of the entire population according to the 1961 census. Consequently, the Ukrainian language has become a common koine among all Alberta Slavs, (Russian, Poles, Slovaks, etc.) and other national groups (Romanians, Galician Jews and Germans).

Although a certain laxity exists among succeeding generations of Alberta-born Ukrainians in teaching and preserving their native tongue,

---

<sup>11</sup> Interview with the Reverend Andrij Teterenko, Two Hills, Alberta, June 16, 1964.



and some Ukrainians of the third generation have even switched entirely to English, the Ukrainian language is nevertheless gaining in prestige. More students study it every year in Alberta schools, and a positive trend is being created towards the use of a standard Ukrainian language.





## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bloomfield, Leonard. Language. New York, Chicago, San Fransisco, Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.
- Burjanyk, V. "Do istoriji ukrajins'kyx učyteliv-pioneriv u Kanadi," Novyj litopys, vol. II, No. 3(4) (Winnipeg, 1962), p. 68.
- Byrne, T. C. "The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta," Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1937.
- Gleason, H. A. Jr. An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961.
- Haugen, Einar. Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide. American Dialect Society, November, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," Language, XXVI (1950), pp. 210-231.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Problems of Bilingualism, Lingua, II, No. 1 (August, 1949), pp. 271-290.
- Kubijovyč, Volodymyr, (ed.), Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963, pp. 466-468.
- Levy, Raphael. "Haplologic Blends in French and in English," Symposium, vol. IV, No. 1 (May, 1950), pp. 53-69.
- Lewyckyj, Jurij-Myroslaw, "Less canadianismes lexicaux dans la langue des ukrainiens de Montréal." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Montréal: Université de Montréal, 1961.
- Luciw, Wasyl and Luciw, Theodore. Ahapius Honcharenko and the Alaska Herald. Toronto: Slavia Library, 1963.
- Pan'kevych, Ivan. Ukrajins'ki hovory Pidkarpats'koji Rusy i sumežnyx oblastej. V Praze [Prague] ORBIS, 1938.
- Rudnyčkyj, J. B. Kanadijs'ki miscevi nazvy ukrajins'koho poxodžennja. Winnipeg: UVAN, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Remarks on Literary Ukrainian and Dialects in Canada," ORBIS, vol. III, No. 1, Louvain, 1954, pp. 58-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Slavic Linguistic Atlas of Canada and U.S.A.," ORBIS, Tome I, No. 1 (1952), pp. 109-112.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Slavic Toponymic Neologisms in Canada." Canadian Slavonic Papers, I (1956), pp. 89-92.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Do movno-pravopysnoji dijsnosti v Kanadi," Juvilejna knyha "Novoho Šljaxu" na 1930-1955: kalendar-al'manax na 1956-57 r., Winnipeg, 1956, pp. 84-86.



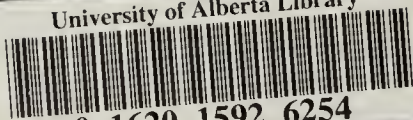
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Phonologic Innovations in Canadian Ukrainian" (Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Helsinki, 1961), The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1962, pp. 753-754.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ukrainian Literary Language and Dialects in Diaspora," ORBIS, Tome XI (1962), pp. 491-494.
- Scargill, M. H. "A Pilot Study of Alberta Speech: Vocabulary," The Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association, vol. 1, No. 1 (October 1954), pp. 21-23.
- Schach, Paul. "The Formation of Hybrid Derivatives in Pennsylvania German", Symposium, vol. III, No. 1 (May, 1949), pp. 114-129.
- Starčuk, Orest. "Bukovyns'ka emigracija v Kanadi," Bukovyna: jiji mynule i sučasne, Paris: "Zelena Bukovyna," 1956, p. 916.
- Weinreich, Uriel. Languages in Contact. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964.
- Woodsworth, James S. Strangers Within Our Gates. Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, 1909.
- Yuzyk, Paul. "The First Ukrainians in Manitoba," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, series III, No. 8, Winnipeg, 1953, p. 321.
- Žluktenko, Jurij Oleksijovyč. Ukrajins'ko-anhlijs'ki mižmovni vidnosyny: ukrajins'ka mova u SSA i Kanadi. Kyjiv: Vydavnystvo universytetu, 1964.







University of Alberta Library



0 1620 1592 6254

**B29839**